THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

TO go back only as far as 1904 when Lincoln Steffens wrote his Shame of the Cities, or to 1896 and Lord Bryce's American Commonwealth, there has been a steady upward swing of city government. Today the thoroughly bad cities are the exception; even they are better than they were; a matter striking and important when it is recalled that the time coincides almost exactly with the great folk movement of our time—the surge from country to city. The evidence of it is given in this special issue of Survey Graphic, planned and carried out by Loula D. Lasker and illustrated by Florence Loeb Kellogg, associate editors, with the help of many kind and expert friends, in particular of Louis Brownlow and Howard P. Jones.

THE career of Prof. Thomas H. Reed, now of the University of Michigan, led him from New York where he was attorney for the Anti-Saloon League across the continent to be city manager of San Jose, Cal., and back again to lecture on municipal government at his alma mater, Harvard University. He is the author of numerous books on American government and politics. Page 8.

FROM 1914 to 1927 Harold W. Dodds was electoral adviser for the United States to Nicaragua, and in 1928 acted as chief adviser to General Frank R. McCoy, chairman of the National Board of Elections in Nicaragua. He is now professor of politics at Princeton University, editor of The National Municipal Review, chairman of the administrative committee of the School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University and a member of the New Jersey Regional Planning Commission. Page 9.

MORE than a quarter of a century ago, Tammany Boss Croker cooly informed the Mazet Committee, "I am working for my pocket all the time." It was Lincoln Steffens who, in his Shame of the Cities, told the story of this unholy alliance of business and politics. The famous muckraker—now sixty-five years old—gives his present point of view on city government in his article, page 12.

HENRY BENTLEY is head of the famous Cincinnati City Charter Committee, which has whipped the political machine founded by Boss Cox at election after election. This group of practical idealists was responsible for the adoption of the city-manager plan in Cincinnati and shares the credit for its successful continuance in operation. The committee has even kept local enthusiasm for the reform administration at white heat for six years, thereby answering the cynic's query, "Can reform last?" Page 19.

LOUIS BROWNLOW is director of the Public Administration Clearing House, organized about a year ago as an exchange for information and to foster cooperation among organizations of operating officials, research units, technical experts and others in the field of administration (page 22). An ex-newspaper man and one of the country's earliest—and most outstanding—city managers, as well as past president of the National City Managers Association, Mr. Brownlow has also been a commissioner of the District of Columbia, and chairman of its public utilities and zoning commission.

PAUL R. LEACH, political writer for The Chicago Daily News, was recently sent by his paper to study the city-manager plan in operation in various cities, and find out whether the new form of government, tested by experience, proves satisfactory. Page 24.

AUTHOR of a standard treatise, The City Manager, based on his study of thirty cities of varying sizes and locations, Professor Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago has been during the past year director of research in this field for President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends. Page 29.

PAST president of the National Conference of Social Work, founder of the Cincinnati Community Chest, lecturer in sociology at Western Reserve University, member of the staff of the Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research, at present director of the Children's Fund of Michigan—this is only a partial list of William J. Norton's activities in two decades which qualify him particularly to appraise the work of government—the greatest social worker of them all. Page 34.

AS public-relations secretary of the National Municipal League, Howard Palfrey Jones is the interpreter to the general public of the League's steady, intelligent pressure for good government. He is also a department editor of The National Municipal Review. Page 37.

LUTHER H. Gulick, Eaton professor of municipal government at Columbia University, is also director of the National Institute of Public Administration and the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, Institute of Public Administration. He has been research director for New York state legislative commissions on taxation and retrenchment since 1919. Page 38.

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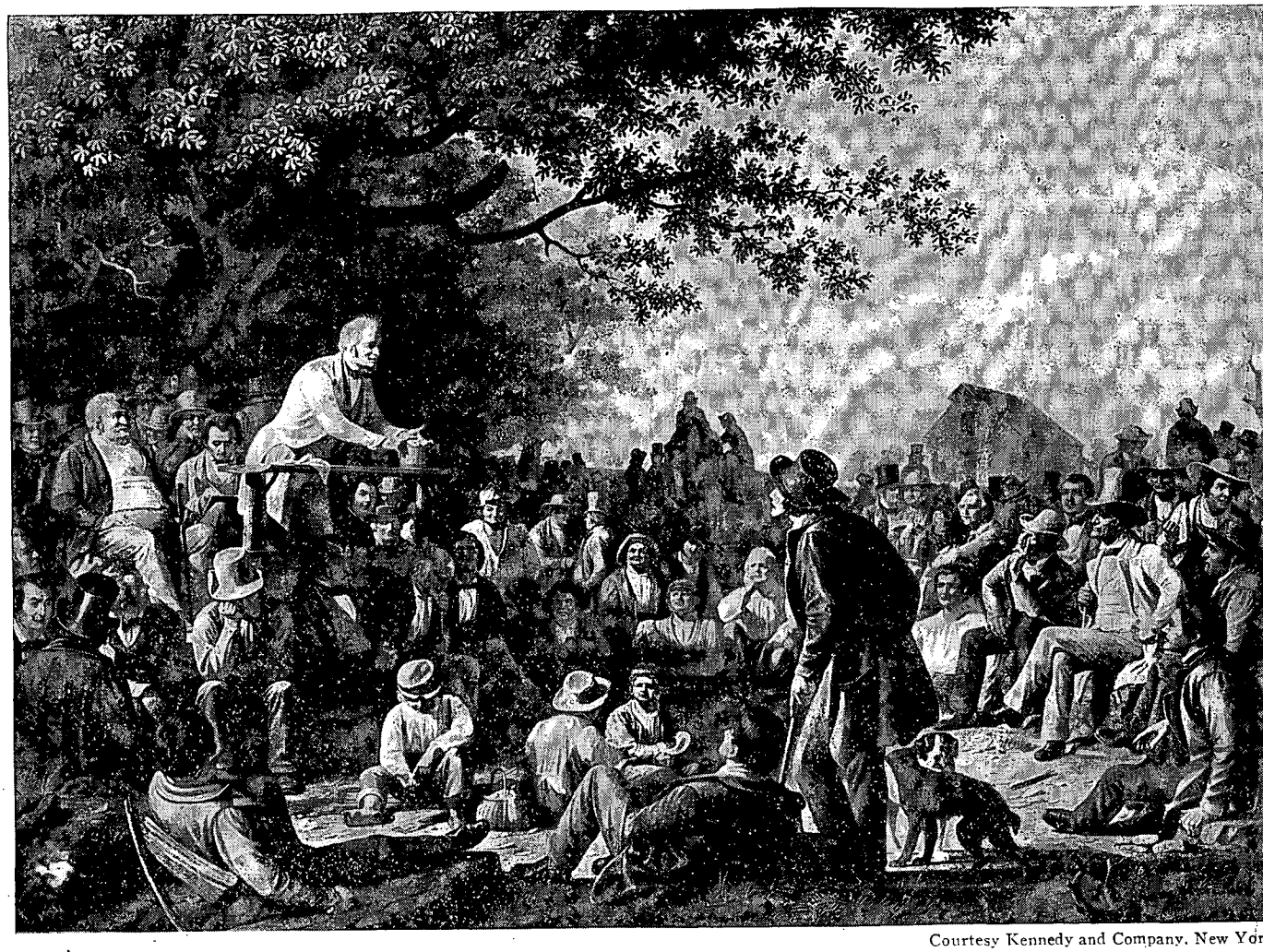

Courtesy Kennedy and Company, New York

TO THE VOTERS

This color print of an eager electorate all attention for the details of government might, we venture to suggest, have been an idyllic interpretation even in the less distracting days of 1856 when it was engraved. Even then government was not so simple as President Jackson had described it a generation earlier. In our era of radio and headlines the people are torn with divers distractions. Meanwhile government grows more and more complicated. Do we come to an impasse or is a solution developing?

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Whither City Government?

By LOULA D. LASKER

GOVERNMENT can no longer be thought of as a mere police agency, a protective institution, but as a system of public services whose scope and functions are limited only by the demands of the community and its capacity to pay for what it wants. Are cities meeting the challenge of this expanding concept of government? The citizen of X-town where graft is rampant, the citizen of Y-town where judgeships are a reward for political service or are sold to the highest bidder, the citizen of Z-town whose children must needs find in the streets their only playground, may answer no—but after all, X, Y and Z are not the whole equation. For the social scientist, the student of government who surveys the whole gamut of cities from A to Z, tells us that in spite of rotten politics and inefficiency in individual cities from coast to coast, municipal government by and large is on the upgrade. He tells us that just as the Machine Age has developed new solutions for new problems, as the twentieth-century corporation has introduced efficiency methods, so municipal government has developed and expanded in the spirit of the times.

In spite of the truth behind the newspaper headlines exposing racketeering of fifty-seven varieties, bootlegging, bribery, graft and vice conditions that can scarcely be equalled in tales of fiction, the situation is not hopeless. Far from it, for though deplorable, these are but scum on the surface. The fact is, to quote one of the leading social scientists speaking at the last Conference on Good Government in Cleveland, "public administration has made notable advance in the cities in the last twenty-five years. The spoils system has fought a stubborn but losing battle and the lines of expert administration have advanced. The most striking evidence of this is the adoption of the city-manager system in over four hundred cities, but almost equally notable is the development of professional standards in the city service. Technical and professional practice has made surprising progress. American cities have learned to substitute mastery for drift in dealing with their physical plan and administrative problems."

Not many years ago most American cities used accounting methods similar to those of the village general store. Some still do. But since the first modern budget system was installed in New York in 1907, cities the country over have similarly patterned their financial transactions, and citizens may know in advance how their money is to be spent. This is a typical illustration of the application of modern scientific principles to city government.

NOT many years ago most American cities could number their services on two hands; today these services cover a wide and varied range—from the provision of pure water to keep the body healthy to the provision of good concerts to supply food for the spirit.

More than half of our people are city dwellers. By the middle of the century two thirds will live in urban centers. Urban standards then are the nation's standards. As the cities go, so goes the country.

As politics wanes and management becomes more effective, a sophisticated public is demanding more and more of its municipal government—especially in the field of social engineering. In what measure and by what methods these demands are being met is told in the sheaf of articles by distinguished economists, social scientists and newspaper political writers on the following pages.

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Is City Government Breaking Down?

By THOMAS H. REED

NO! That there are grave evils connected with municipal government today is undeniable. City officials are often corrupt and incompetent and city government wasteful and inept. In particular cities there are acute conditions of graft, extravagance, and inefficiency which can only be diagnosed as the symptoms of some deep-seated disease. But municipal government in general is not breaking down. On the whole, it is much better than it was fifty years ago. Scandals in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities may indicate that we are now in the hollow of a depression civic as well as economic. But the depths of today are as hilltops compared with the sinkholes of depravity in which our cities slumbered contentedly in 1880.

The ills we experience are always much more vivid to us than those of which we read in books. The ache in my tooth today is more impressive than the yellow fever my grandfather died of fifty years ago. There is always a tendency, therefore, to look back on the old days as the good old days, when in fact they may have been very bad days indeed. There is no way of truly estimating the present value of an institution such as municipal government except by comparing it to what it was. If it shows progress, even slight and halting progress, it is not breaking down.

City government begins in elections. We talk glibly of election frauds today. Imagine what they would mount to if there were no registration of voters, no regulation of caucuses and primaries, and no secret ballot. Fifty years ago there were not a half dozen cities with an effective registration system. Caucuses were run just as the gang wanted to run them, with no possible legal restraint on their action. Dig Alfred Henry Lewis's Boss out of the dust on some forgotten library shelf and read how it was done. And the ballots used in elections were printed by the parties or candidates and handed to the voters outside the polling place. In Massachusetts "in 1878 the Republican ticket had a flaming pink border which threw out branches toward the center of the back and had a Republican indorsement in letters half an inch high." Under such circumstances vote-buying was a practical business arrangement, for the delivery of the goods could be checked. Even where white paper and uniform size and style were required, a voter could be made to keep his ballot conspicuously in sight until it was deposited in the box. There are still some startling stunts done in voting dead men's names in some cities, and in others the count is corruptly manipulated, but anyone who says city elections are not infinitely cleaner than fifty years ago is simply dead to the past.

Fifty years ago American cities were notorious, not merely for machines and bosses—these we have with us still—but for a pervading inefficiency which left no branch of the service untouched. There was then not a civil service act in existence in the United States. With each change of administration there was a clean sweep of all the office-holders appointed by the last, and the sole qualification for appointment was party service. Today the rank and file of the municipal service remains unchanged despite the changing fortunes of politics. So complicated and technical have many of the services become that the politicians are loath to court administrative disaster by turning out even well-paid technicians. A thousand well-directed shafts can be levelled at the way civil service laws are carried out, but there is manifest today among city servants a spirit very different from that of 1880.

FIFTY years ago no European traveler who, after six weeks in New York and a three-day trip to Niagara Falls, sought to write a book on the United States failed to reflect on our filthy streets, our untidy policemen, and the general unkempt air of our American cities. There was no more obvious material for those bitter attacks on things American which foreign writers have found so popular on both sides of the Atlantic. At the same time earnest Americans visiting Europe came home to tell us in the pages of Harper's and the Atlantic how much better they did things on the other side. That is all gone by. Superficially, and that is the only view the casual traveler can have, American cities compare favorably with the European capitals. In a half-century our cities have acquired dignity, some beauty, and an appearance of workmanlike performance of their ordinary functions. The last and most rhapsodical of American rhapsodists on European cities—Fred Howe—has been silent for nearly twenty years.

Dalrymple in Puck, August 1, 1894

Where is the difference?

Crime has now taken the place of city government as our most conspicuous national disgrace (we seem almost to plume ourselves on the conspicuousness of the disgrace). And the crime situation is only measurably chargeable

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to city government. The police, bad as they sometimes are, play a very minor role therein as compared with our antiquated court procedure.

While Chicago gangsters nightly fire volleys reported, if not heard, around the world, while New York wrestles with the problem, age-old, of the sale of judicial office, while Detroit swallows an unsavory mayor only to vomit him up shortly along with ample material for scandal, the forces which have been improving American city government in the past half-century are steadily working on. Fifty years ago our cities had never heard of a budget. They kept their books by the single-entry method, recording only cash as it went in and out—and badly at that. Purchasing was done by each department and office as it would. There was in the fairest of our valleys, where a million prune trees perfume the air in blossom time, a park board each member of which had an order book and bought when it occurred to him to buy, and what. Today even New York has a budget and the littlest cities workable accounting systems, while purchasing has become a recognized and separate function of government.

In fifty years city councils have shed their second chambers and grown smaller. Distinct executive responsibility on the part of mayor or manager has replaced the old hodge-podge of irresponsible authorities. Things go wrong here and there, now and then. But often they go very well indeed where formerly there was apparently no hope of anything better than pitiful mediocrity. There has never been a better governed large city in this country or in Europe than Cincinnati since 1926. Almost every city can point with pride to some department of government which is doing an outstanding service to the community. Even Chicago can set off her Wacker Drive against her William Hale Thompson.

Too exclusive attention to New York and Chicago might lead an observer of municipal affairs to exaggerate the present slump. Philadelphia is boasting a vigorous campaign for a city manager, and the country is sown thick with cities of moderate size and modest claims to prominence in which municipal government has shown no slump at all, but a steady upward curve of improvement. If you would measure a slump, you must have perspective, and a fifty-year view will make any observer of American municipal affairs a tempered optimist.

City Government Grows Up

By H. W. DODDS

IN January 1894 a group of highly respectable citizens assembled in Philadelphia in the first National Conference for Good City Government. Municipal corruption and mismanagement were rampant, and Wendell Phillips' prophecy that our great cities would test our free institutions more severely than our struggle with human slavery was accepted as a self-evident truth. At this conference Moorefield Storey proclaimed that it was "unanimously agreed that the government of almost every American city was bad," and Washington Gladden summarized the indictment as follows:

> Unbusinesslike methods of administration have crept in; illicit relations with contractors and plunderers of all sorts have been formed; a thousand subterranean openings into the treasury have been discovered; guardians of the peace are seen to be on the best terms with several classes of prosperous lawbreakers; many officials are using the patronage of their offices with small regard for the interests of the city, but with a constant reference to their own political futures.

To the average citizen, these words, spoken in the "dark ages" of city government in America, seem as pertinent today as they did thirty-seven years ago. Al Capone and Big Bill in Chicago, court and police scandals in New York, councilmanic thefts and convictions in Atlanta, revealed frauds in purchases and supplies in Pittsburgh still discourage complacent optimism. Yet the twentieth century has witnessed progress in the solution of city difficulties, and the course of future development has been more or less scientifically charted. However deficient the accomplishment to date, it is reasonable to declare that notorious Tammany is supplying better administration in New York than did the reform government of Mayor Low.

It was essentially a moral urge that motivated the distinguished people who composed the first national conference on municipal government, and the succeeding meetings of the newly organized National Municipal League. Municipal politics were rotten and must be reformed. Freedom from legislative interference, separation of municipal from other elections, single or double councils, election of councilmen at large rather than by wards, nonpartisan elections of city officials, the direct primary versus the convention, were topics which appear and reappear on the early programs of the National Municipal League. Although emphasis was placed upon improved municipal accounting and financial reporting, little attention was paid to administrative matters. The leaders were lay citizens, busy exchanging viewpoints and experience on structure and political behavior.

By 1897 their ideas had become sufficiently crystallized to justify the appointment of a committee to frame a model city charter.

Too many municipal governments today deserve the unflattering attention they are receiving in the headlines. But Professor Dodds claims that in the year of grace 1931 there is a changing concept of municipal government which has been developing over a long period, and that where there is a will to give and to have good municipal government there is a way, for during the past forty years or so a workable program has been evolved and tried out successfully by many cities from coast to coast. He says—but read Professor Dodds' article for a clear analysis of the changing concept.

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In 1898 the draft model of the Municipal Program Committee was adopted as the platform of reform.

Although this first model charter has been revised several times it is to the credit of the wise men who framed it that its dominant principles have become the accepted political science of today. Even if the doctrinal errors of Jacksonian democracy had been exposed by repeated experience, they still retained power to move the multitudes. For this reason the model charter was a bold document deliberately refuting traditional political theory.

For the bewildering complexity of contemporary governmental structure (which was supposed to prevent tyrannical government) the model charter substituted simplicity. By its term administrative powers were taken from the council and the numerous independent boards of the time, and were concentrated in the mayor who was empowered to appoint his chief subordinates without legislative interference. Administrative duties were grouped in appropriate departments on the basis of similarity of function. The council, a single-chamber body elected at large, was made the sole legislative authority of the city and special legislative agencies were abolished. The recommendations marked on the whole a return to the principles of the federal constitution, which unfortunately had never been applied to cities. The purpose was to destroy the irresponsibility of public officials and the voter's reliance on political parties, by providing a simple governmental framework which could be watched. Today this is called the short ballot movement and its soundness is unquestioned by political scientists.

With the advent of the twentieth century there began what Professor Munro has termed the municipal renaissance. Commission government, springing from the Galveston disaster, involved a radical simplification of municipal machinery with encouraging gains in efficiency. Bicameral councils gave way to single chambers. Under the pressure of popular indignation constitutional home rule was accomplished in one third of the states while legislative meddling was reduced in many others. The Galveston plan was seized upon in several hundred cities as a specific for their political ills, and even where the commission form was not adopted the dogma of structural simplification was producing results.

Knott in The Dallas News

Never heard of Birth Control

In one important respect however the commission plan failed to fulfil expectations. For a number of years reformers had been emphasizing the business aspects of the city's activities and the need for trained experts in administrative posts. The strong-mayor charter of the National Municipal League concentrated power in an elective mayor, but its framers hoped that the department heads selected by him would be technicians, not politicians. Unfortunately even yet this ideal has not been attained, for the normal mayor continues to choose politically-useful rather than professionally-qualified subordinates. And, as it turned out, under the Galveston plan also elective city commissioners were politicians and usually amateurs in administration. The hope that experts and executives would be chosen as active heads of departments proved illusory. It is now recognized that administrative officials cannot be effectively selected by popular election.

For this reason the commission plan was no more successful in substituting expertness for political expediency than the mayor plan. A new plan was therefore necessary which would combine the advantages and eliminate the weaknesses of these two forms of city government. The old doctrine that any one who was not fit for the gallows was fit for any office he could get was growing weak. Force of circumstances was demanding a reconciliation of efficiency and democracy. The city-manager plan was developed as a theoretically acceptable solution. This plan has been fittingly termed the one deliberate political invention of Americans in the past one hundred years, and to Dayton goes the distinction of being the first important city to adopt it. It was taken up by the National Municipal League and incorporated in its revised model charter in 1915. Today in number of new adoptions city-manager charters far outrank any other form.

While the commission form of city government originated by accident (it was the success of the Galveston "receivership" which supplied its impetus), the manager plan was a conscious experiment exemplifying the new emphasis upon administration. With the turn of the century cities began rapidly to expand their public services. For example, as Dr. Lent D. Upson reports, at the end of the year 1899 the city of Detroit was engaged in 129 separate activities; by the end of 1915 the number had increased to 206, and by 1931 to 306. Although the larger number of new activities related to social-welfare services, the city's time-honored business activities were also increasing in cost and importance. City government infringing more and more upon the daily lives of the people was at the same time becoming more intricate and difficult to manage. Thoughtful persons agreed that expert administration and sound financial procedure must be invoked to save the day. Per capita costs were assuming striking proportions and economy and efficiency for all

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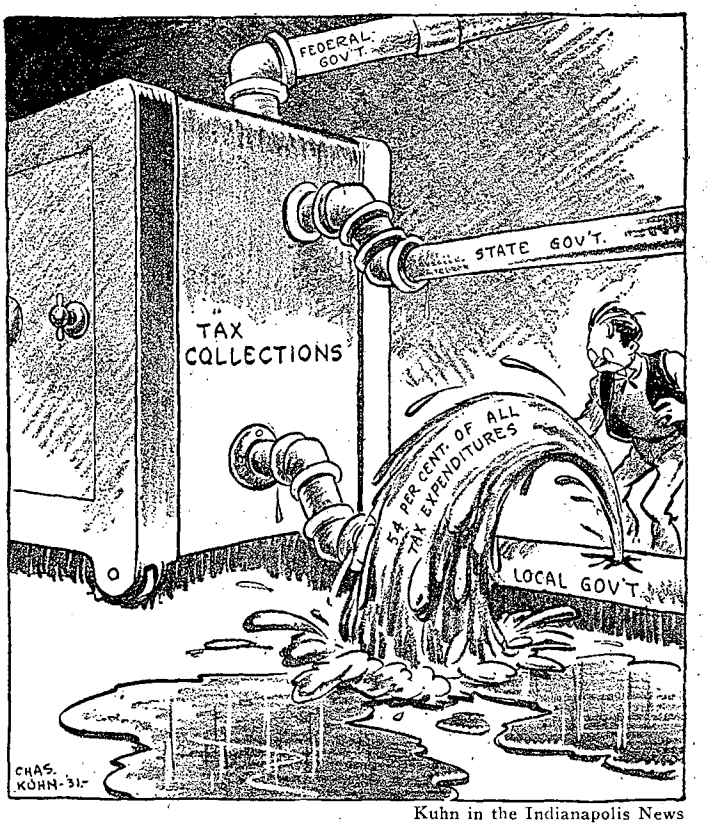
branches of city government became the slogan of the hour.

In 1907 a new type of civic agency appeared in the organization of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research dedicated to the study of administration. Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Dayton, Rochester, Detroit, San Francisco and two score other cities have followed with similar bureaus. At Washington the Institute for Government Research was created in 1916 for cooperation with the national government, and several state research agencies have been established.

Attention was at first directed to improvements in financial procedure. The budget system became a focal point of reform, and with the report of President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency the budget became a national issue. However it was soon discovered that the budget principle possessed wide ramifications, both administrative and political. On the administrative side it implied advance planning of revenues and expenditures and appropriate executive control over the city's financial transactions. But it was also clear that an integrated administrative structure was necessary to the proper execution of the budget and thus the movement for a simplified city government received fresh momentum. On the political side the budget was viewed as a new instrument of popular control, affording a basis for more intelligent action by the legislative body and furnishing information to the press and public as to how much money was being spent, and as to the purposes which the tax dollar served.



Kuhn in the Indianapolis News

The Big Leak

It is no reflection upon the early budget enthusiasts to say that all their promises have not been realized. To the average citizen the budget document still remains dry and unintelligible. At best its figures are comparative and tell little about the efficiency of the administration. We still lack a municipal yard-stick by which the administration can be measured. We still don't know whether our tax dollar buys as much public health or police protection as it should. Municipal researchers have therefore turned their attention to the improvement of municipal reporting. Alert administrators have taken a leaf from the book of the advertising fraternity and are continuously improving the popular appeal of their reports.

Recently efforts have been undertaken to establish measurement units of efficiency of municipal services for the guidance of administrators and public alike. A National Committee on Municipal Standards, in which a number of professional and non-professional associations are participating, has attacked the problem of unit costs and their progress thus far gives gratifying promise that eventually we shall attain the desired yardstick. In the meantime after two years of work another cooperative committee, the National Committee on Municipal Reporting, has published model specifications for municipal reports which will help to make a municipal report less of a puzzle-book and more of a guide-book.

Another aspect of current interest in administration is the development of professional associations of municipal officials for mutual help in administrative problems. Certain organizations in which municipal officials participate, such as the American Public Health Association, the American Society for Municipal Improvements, the American Water Works Association and the National Tax Association, are of long standing. More recent are the American Municipal Association composed of state leagues of municipal officials, the City Managers' Association, the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration and others, each pursuing fixed programs of research. Another means of cooperation is the Municipal Administration Service in New York which publishes numerous reports on administrative topics and maintains a voluminous correspondence with city officials and interested citizens. Newest of all is the Public Administration Clearing House, financed by the Spelman Fund of New York and operating under distinguished leadership. Its function is to act as a channel of information and a means of coordination among the numerous organizations of operating officials and research agencies devoted to public administration.

Probably nothing illustrates the new emphasis upon administration better than a comparison of the personnel which now attend the annual meetings of the National Municipal League with the pioneers of thirty-five years ago. Then the delegates were respected laymen moved by a righteous indignation to purify city government. They represented local civic associations engaged in cleaning up their towns. They read papers to each other on political corruption, on the movement for honest government, on municipal reform and the churches, on civic religion, the revolution in Philadelphia and similar topics. They promulgated sound principles of administrative organization. But they were not competent, nor did they desire, to discuss technical questions of departmental operation. Because a lot of muck had to be cleared away it was proper that they did not. Without this reforming zeal the developing science of public administration would have been impossible.

Today the National Municipal (*Continued on page* 50)

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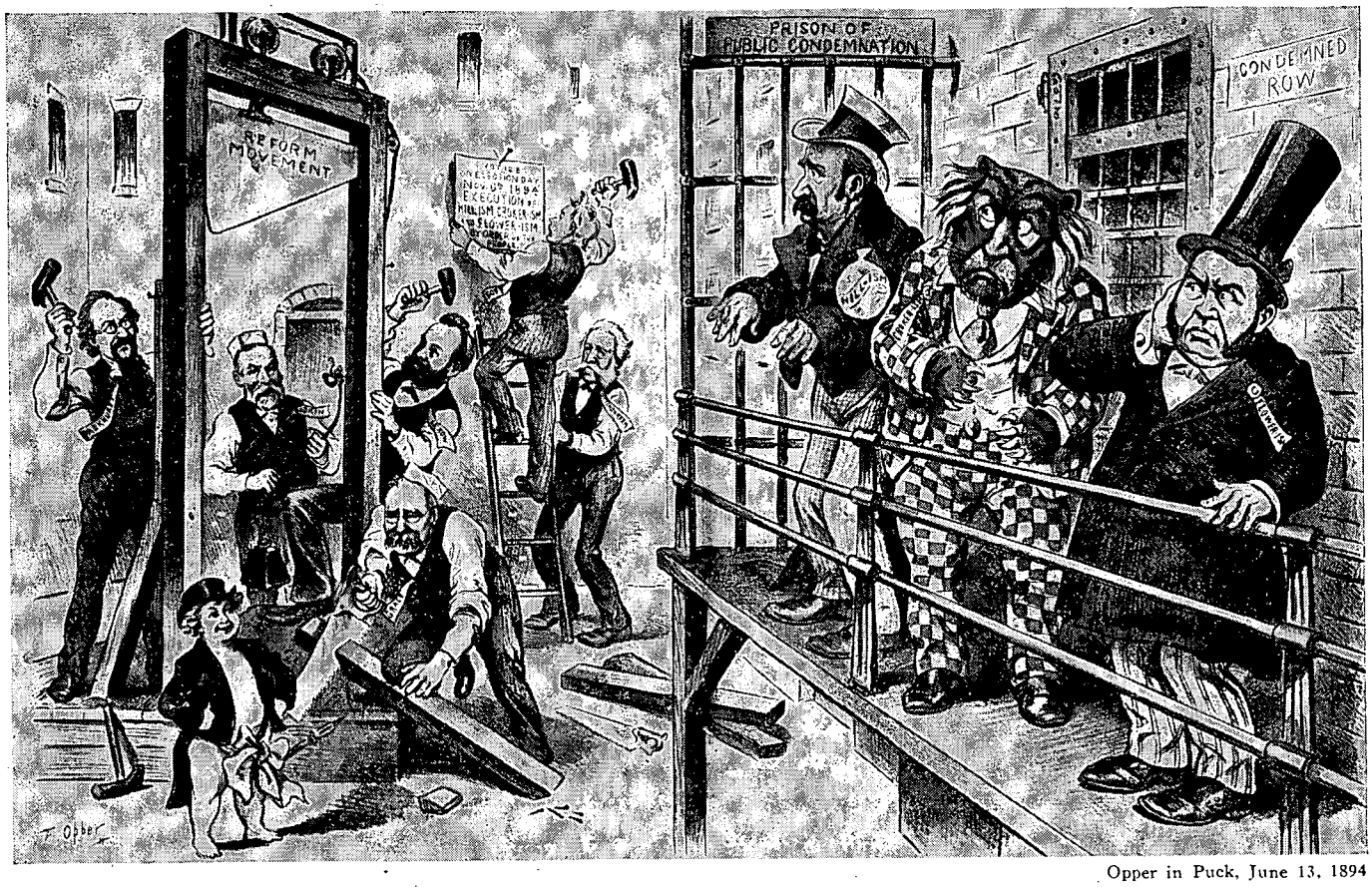

Opper in Puck, June 13, 1894

Condemned to die—Crokerism, by Parkhurst, Lexow and the reform movement

As Steffens Sees It

By LINCOLN STEFFENS

IT looks as if there might be a revival of muckraking in this country. New York has started some inquiries, and New York sometimes sets a fashion. Chicago, the western leader, has turned over in a characteristic, very interesting Chicago way. A dozen other cities are in motion toward investigations, or reforms. More communities may well follow to make it a movement. And the facts, the conditions are there to be raked; anyone can see that. The stuff is, journalistically speaking, magnificent. Yes, and the growing demand is ahead of the supply. The business depression is deepening a discontent which prepares people to listen and read. In brief, it is a good time to do again what has been done before: to examine into and report upon our cities, states and federal government; their business associates; and to do something about—whatever is found to be wrong. But not as was done before.

As an old muckraker I have been tempted by two newsy-nosed editors to take down my trusty, rusty rake and rake again. I declined. It would be good business, but I refused; and not only because of the long, hard work required to get what everybody knows, back it with evidence and write the common knowledge around the libel laws. Any trained newspaper man could do that. I balked because all the propositions made to me expected a repetition of the old muckraking. And one should not repeat. And neither should ninety million people be led to repeat. It is precisely the repetitions of history, whether in large experiences like war, or in such small adventures as political reforms, that should be avoided.

This new cycle of self-examination should begin somewhere near where the old muckrakers left off. That may be asking too much. But certainly the new muckrakers—the editors, reporters and reformers—might set out upon their quest with some of the general conclusions in their minds that we old muckrakers drew from our decade of exposure. At any rate, the only proper service for me to offer should be to indicate one or two or three of our generalizations which, if borne in mind, would further and sharpen the research, freshen and clarify the spirit of the researchers and, I think, improve the politics of the reformers.

We—or let me relieve my colleagues of old by saying—I discovered, first, that:

All cities, all states and nations, all corporations, institutions and associations of men, were similarly corrupted.

This was proved to my satisfaction by studies of seventeen cities and towns; eleven states; seven nations; and by insights into many business corporations and institutions.

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If it is true, any careful surveyor can test it in any community in the civilized world and apply and prove it in as many communities as he has the patience to examine. It is one basis or lead up to a science of government. It indicates that forces, impersonal, economic, probably manageable, are causing the evils we complain of, not men, not parties. "Throwing the rascals out," putting somebody in jail—all the forms of man-hunting so habitual among Americans, appear absurd.

The problem becomes, in the light of my generalization, one of discovering what the several sources are of political corruption and of the economic and social consequences and human purposes thereof. I traced back the trail of corruption to the railroads, the public service corporations, the protective tariff-seekers, pensioners, and so on, who sought franchises, special laws and exemptions and interpretations of laws; and to liquor dealers, gamblers, prostitutes and professional criminals, who required the non-enforcement of law. One glance over this incomplete list and a moment of reflection upon other known defenders of this, the system of established corruption, develops right away, another, my second generalization:

That it is privileges of one sort or another that are the purpose and the cause of the corruption of all governments; if not the origin of government itself.

This last clause: that the origin, the strength and the weakness of government is privilege, leads off into a study of history which I will leave aside as no part of muckraking.

Muckraking is of the present and the most present example of it is in New York today. The new muckrakers there are fine, able, very intelligent but more or less moral men, who would reject the title, muckrakers. They even shy off a bit from the charge that they are avengers, punishers; they don't want exactly to punish Mayor Walker. But they are "after" him. They are very like the old muckrakers and their procedure is much too like ours. They concentrate upon, they seem to hold him responsible in some degree for the bad government of New York and the implication of all that they are saying and doing is the familiar idea that if they could show him up, get rid of him and have another man elected in his stead, we might have good government in New York, or at any rate, things would be better.

"We" thought that, we worked on that theory and we fought it out on that line. We threw out a bad mayor and, finding him backed by Tammany Hall and the so-called Democratic Party and its boss, Richard Croker, we threw out Tammany too, and the boss. A victory! All in vain. The new muckrakers are finding another Tammany mayor in office, another Tammany boss behind him and the same old Tammany Hall. Evidently then we were wrong somehow; and the new muckrakers would be wrong to repeat our experiment that failed—or, let us say, succeeded in vain. We did what we set out to do, but that which we did was not what was needed. Was it?

We forced improvement in the administration of the city's business. The streets have been cleaned ever since; the tenement-houses have been better regulated; the sanitary system made healthy; the police department is more smoothly managed and run with better discipline. But mark this well, all the grafts, big and little, which we did not remove—these have been subjected to a much more businesslike organization and control. The grafters learned from us muckrakers; the reformers did not.

ONE example will illustrate. When the Lexow exposures showed the extent and the value in money of the police grafts, the reformers did not go to the roots of them and cut them off deep down. They passed more laws for the police to enforce against the criminal partners of the police. The grafters studied those same revelations and they saw in their wisdom that the old graft was too democratic. Too many policemen and too many gamblers, prostitutes and liquor interests were in on the graft. I heard them talk about this and I heard and everybody might have seen, how they proposed to meet the weakness in their system. They took away from the police force in general the power to deal with privileged vice and crime. They centralized this power. They required the vice promoters to get together, divide their businesses and their territories and deal only with a part of the police force under political heads. And the part of the police force designated for the vice and crime business was called the vice-squad, a picked group of men selected for their reliability in crises. This is the origin of that now notorious institution, the vice-squad. It is set up to "regulate" vice and crime as a railroad commission regulates railroads; as a public-utility commission regulates public utilities; as the League of Nations regulates wars.

If reformers would do as the politicians did: take our New York experiences as an experiment, they would not repeat our failure; they would study our ideas and acts to discover our errors and correct them. They might, for example, look closely at the situation and see that Mayor Walker, nominated and backed by Tammany, must represent what Tammany represents. Then their inquiry would be directed to find out just what Tammany represents. What businesses and interests contribute to the Tammany campaign funds? An expensive organization is a very costly business with many men living well on it and a large, a very large following to take care of; the sums of money required "to keep things wrong" are very large. What businesses and interests voluntarily pay these big bills? And why?

Such an inquiry has never been made; not thoroughly. It would take us far away and above the man-hunt and if successful, would take the investigators and the reading public down to the very roots of our problem, everywhere. For of course

Knott in The Dallas News

But there's always a new litter

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"Tammany" is only the name of the Democratic organization that represents the sources of evil in New York City. There is a Republican organization in Philadelphia that renders the same disservice. Every city, every town, every state, the United States, has a political machine which does this very essential business. Both party organizations seek and their political struggles are for, the profitable privilege of attending to this business for these businesses. We Americans know that better than any European people know it of their countries. But the new muckrakers could make it all plain, definite, explicit and so pictorial in this country that the people would think of it steadily as they now think of parties and persons. And public opinion would be fitted to decide what to do about it, if anything.

MY opinion, based upon my experience, is that the people would not do anything. If they saw what the economic roots are of the evils they deplore they would rise up and defend these roots. It's only the consequences they resent or dislike; they think some of these are unnecessary. Anyhow when in the cities reforms went "too far" and the voters saw that caught and convicted businesses were of companies in which the people or their friends and neighbors had a stock interest, the elections went against the reformers and often put the now known corruptionists back in power, openly, definitely, even brazenly.

This observation led me to frame another generalization:

That wherever the common people were shown their interest; wherever the forces of corruption tempted them, the good and the better people were found to be as "bad" as the best people who are the agents through which business controls politics.

But this generalization, like my others, is only a theory. It's an important theory, I think. We should make an experiment with it and find out whether it works out as other experiences would predict. New York is a fine laboratory to make the test in; it is typical enough; it is conspicuous so that good reporters could report it to a wide and interested public, thoughtful editors could interpret it all for our national education. And, if it fails—I mean if it succeeds—no, I mean: if it works out to an acceptable scientific conclusion that the people don't want and won't permit a root solution of our problem, we need not despair. There is another experiment to make, the experiment Chicago is trying right now intelligently, consciously; the experiment most of our cities are making without knowing it. It is the way so many European communities have gone to get what Americans abroad see and covet as good government.

EUROPEAN cities and states have tended to develop governments which left the roots, protected the growth and fruits of privilege and applied the discipline of respectability to the practitioners of politics and business graft. It has been a long struggle for what we call good government, not representative government, but smooth, efficient administration of the public business; a strict discipline of the police and the quiet, businesslike management of the grafts which are not called grafts over there. The results are pretty good, so good that business-men and the better classes are satisfied and travelers are so profoundly impressed that many Americans take the governments of England and Germany as ideals. I have heard Americans sigh for "a government like the English," "cities like those of Germany."

Chicago, which made some twenty years ago one of the best fights I ever saw for "representative government," has stepped definitely out of that course of action into the road traveled by the European cities. Having had a mayor whose administration not only represented privileged business of all sorts, but let the criminal and vice grafters run wild in rackets with murder and armed street battles, Chicago turned, not to reform, not to a professionally good man for mayor, but elected a politician who knows all about the under-world and is expected not to suppress it but to enforce some order into it. That is to say, he can and he may govern the under-world, make it respect appearances and help to maintain a front which will make Chicago look like the other well-governed cities of the world. It is said in Chicago that this is for the World's Fair only, but like New York, if the good citizens of Chicago once have a taste of an efficient, orderly administration and become accustomed to the cost of it, they are likely to carry it on forever; it is better for vice as well as for business.

THE advanage of having this experiment made in Chicago is that Chicago will know what it is doing and what it is not doing. New York is more instinctive, less aware; New Yorkers do not seem to know that they are working for and slowly achieving good government by Tammany Hall. If they did one would hear "juster,—more scientific" criticism of Mayor Walker. He has maintained "pretty good government"; he has kept up the efficiency of mere administration of the departments. He has not interfered radically with the big privileged interests. A Tammany mayor is not nominated to do that. But he is expected, even by Tammany, even by the bad politicians, to see to it that the men sent him by the boss to appoint to office and the racketeers authorized to do business, carry on their duties and their grafts with due regard for public opinion; which is not drastic. Mayor Walker has not done this. The police-protected racketeers have not run riot as foolishly as they have in Chicago, but they did break out in scandalous license; bad enough to arouse the reformers. Bad "bad" politics, this. And I think the reason is that Mayor Walker and his staff are not sufficiently aware and did not wisely (politically) use their (political) power over the vice-grafters and bootleggers. There is something of the "honest man" about Mayor Walker; he's a bit too much of the "good man" for mayor.

Another, the last generalization that I have to offer is pure theory:

That to give good government to a city or a state without disturbing the roots of privilege, it will be necessary to elect to office so-called "bad men"; experts who are experienced and powerful in the under-ranks of politics and privileged business.

And it seems to me that Chicago is about to make a test of this theory. We'll see.

Anyway, any new muckrakers who come along in this new cycle of exposure and reform would do well, both professionally and scientifically, to watch for and report all local movements with these hypotheses or questions in mind:

What, not who, is wrong?

Whether we want to deal finally with the causes of evil or prefer to go on doing the best we can with things as they are?

And how: whether with good men or efficient bad men?

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"Who stole the people's money?" T'was him!

Handwriting on the Wall

ONCE an artist on a weekly put a political gang to rout by the power of his caricature. In himself he was an army of citizens with banners. It was Thomas Nast, on the staff of Harper's Weekly for a quarter of a century; he went out for the Tweed Ring in New York in seventy-one and got them. Not everyone read "a journal of civilization," its editor was soft-spoken in contrast to Nast's hard-hitting, but the owner, Fletcher Harper, gave the young artist his head and as the weekly drawings were reprinted as handbills, Tweed himself expostulated: "I don't care so much what the papers write about me—my constituents can't read; but they can see pictures!"

Besides his virile ideas Nast's main gift lay in his ability to reproduce likenesses. (So accurate was his portrayal that some years later Tweed was arrested for kidnapping in Spain, to which he had escaped from a New York jail, on the strength of a misinterpreted cartoon of his clutching two young thieves.) In the few months before the New York City election of 1871 the features of William M. Tweed, commissioner of public works, Sweeny, city chamberlain, Connolly, controller, and Oakey Hall, the mayor, leaders of the Tammany Ring, became known the world over. They controlled every public office of the city; owned a majority in the state legislature and the Tammany governor. It was afterwards estimated that through fraudulent bonds, franchise favors and blackmail their reign had cost the city two hundred millions. Small wonder they offered Nast a fortune to stop his drawings and leave the country.

A July issue of The Times exposed the graft in connection with the new courthouse. From then on Nast set his teeth in and refused to let go. A citizens' committee began to investigate the controller's books. "It will blow over," predicted the gang. What blew over, as Nast retorted, was Tammany Hall, with only the mayor left pending above the wreckage for his unexpired term. Harper's circulation had jumped from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand. But Nast lived to learn that rings rise to take the place of rings routed, like weeds in a garden. Thirty years later he commented, "Many of my cartoons of 1871 could be applied with equal effect today."

Who was Thomas Nast to have this power at thirty? At that time illustrated papers had staff artists instead of camera men. Near the close of the Civil War Lincoln had reason to observe, "He has been our best recruiting sergeant." And later, Grant, "Two things elected me, the sword of Sheridan and the pencil of Thomas Nast." So what he had to say of city misgovernment was a trumpet-call listened to by the whole nation. He ranked with the great caricaturists of the nineteenth century in Europe, was called "the father of the American cartoon." He invented the symbols of G. O. P. elephant, Democratic donkey, the empty dinner-pail, the cap of labor—shorthand of later cartoonists. During the campaign against Tweed he employed the tiger for Tammany, to that time emblem of the fire-engine of the company of which Tweed had been chief. In later years his power gradually declined. Other papers came into the field; Harper's and Nast went over to Cleveland and lost friends; and finally the long affiliation ended and Nast lost his forum. He died in 1902, at sixty-two. Soothsayers arose, but no other Daniel. The times had changed.—F. L. K.

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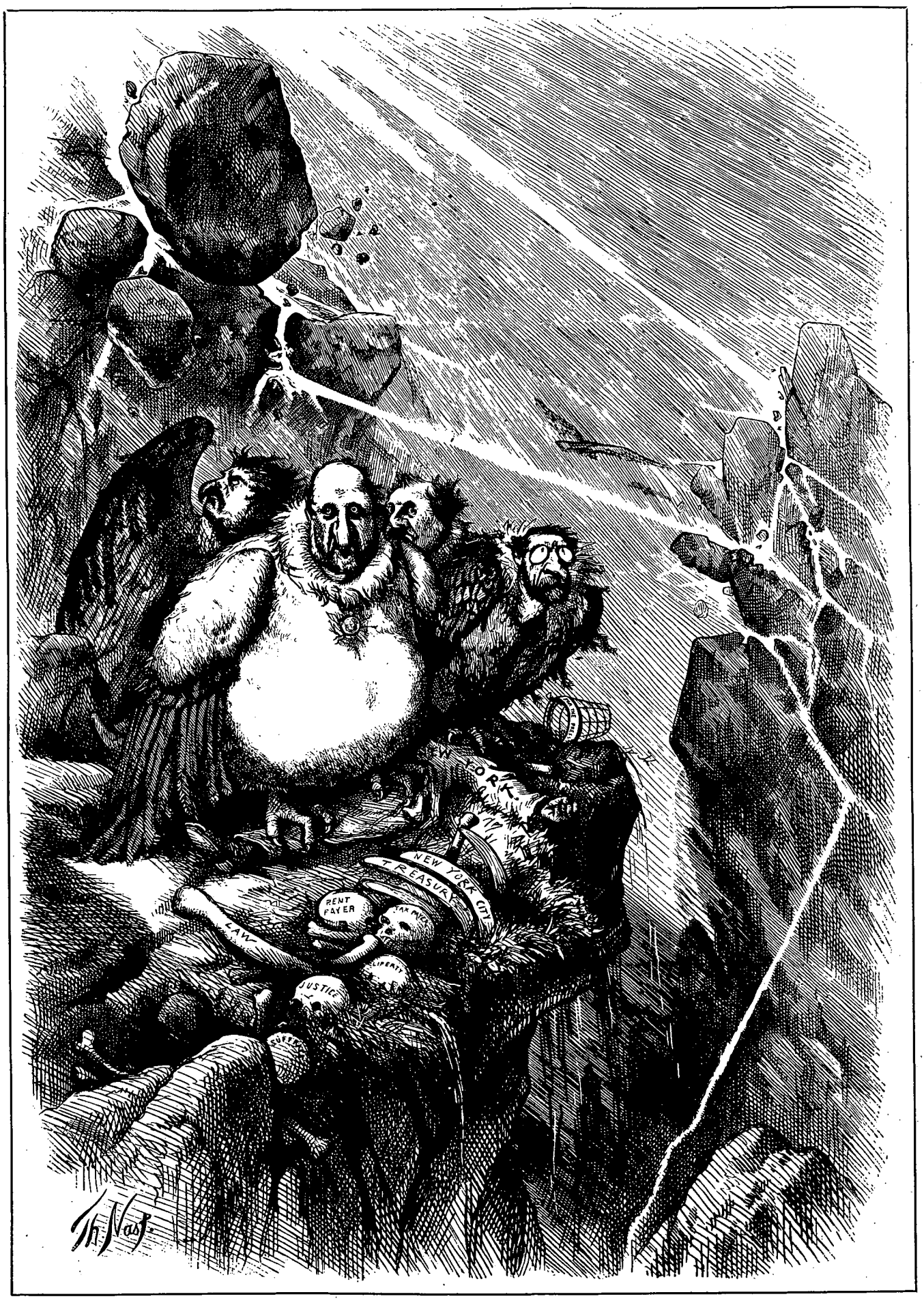

A group of vultures waiting for the storm to blow over. "Let us prey."

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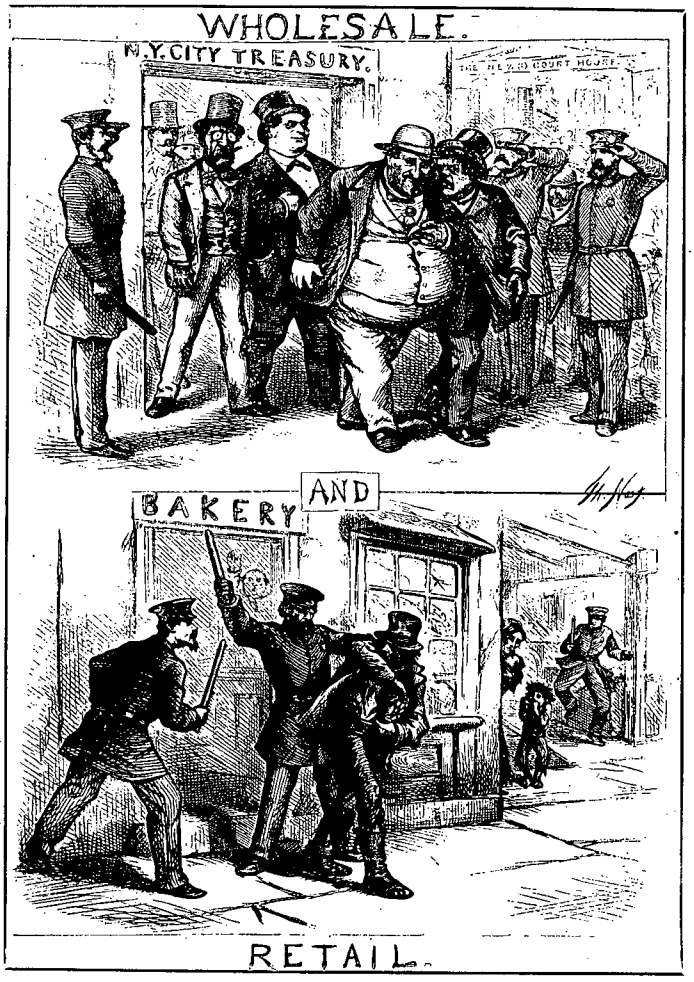

REWARDS
FAT OFFICES, DIAMONDS, PALACES, &C. FOR THOSE THAT COUNT OUT
THE ANTI-TAMMANY TICKETS
NB. NO DETECTION, AS WE HAVE THE LAW IN OUR HANDS.
BOSS.
$100. REWARD.
FOR THE DETECTION OF THE ILLEGAL ANTI-TAMMANY VOTING.
STATES PRISON OFFENCE
THE
WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

"You have the liberty of voting for anyone you please; but we have the liberty of counting . . ."

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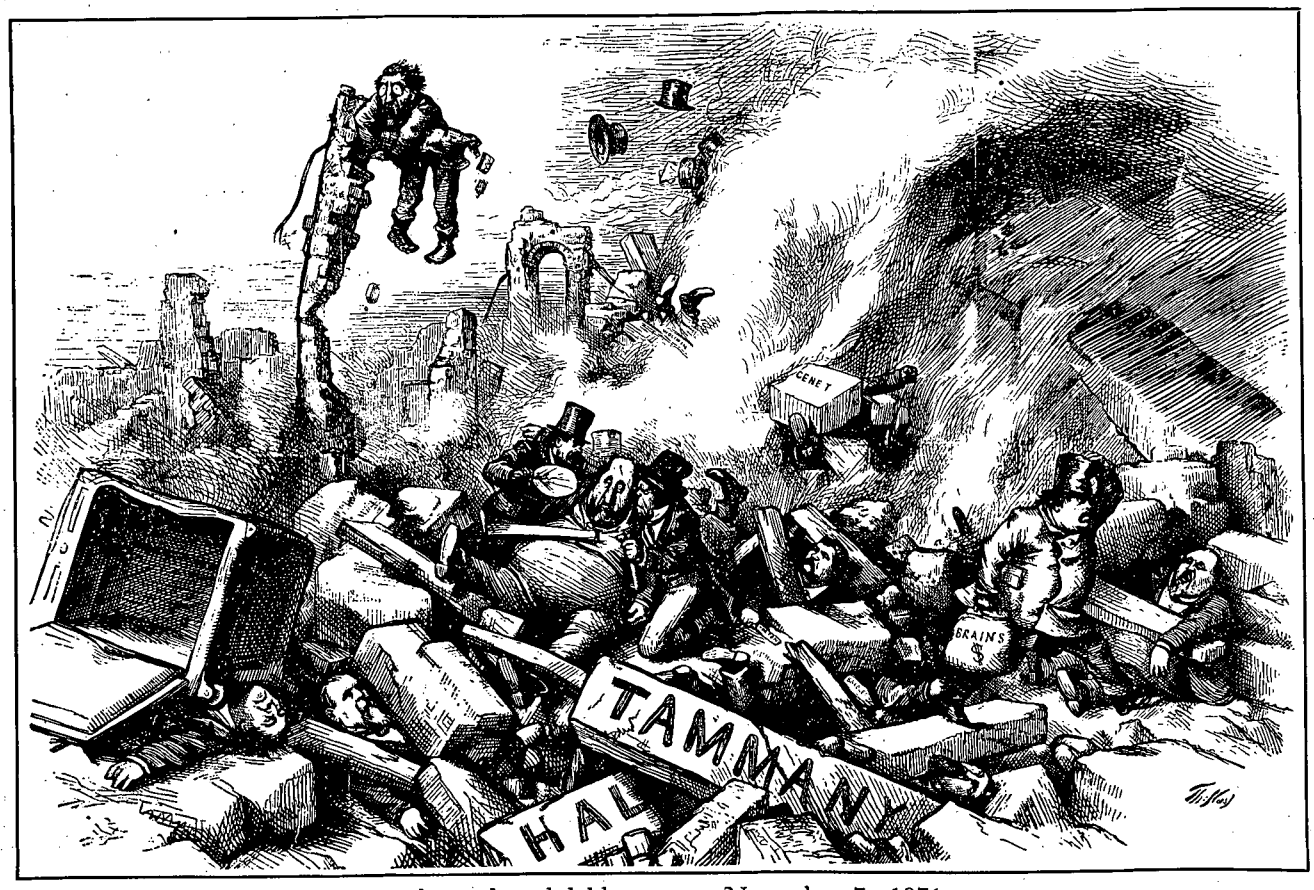

Something that did blow over—November 7, 1871

MISS COLUMBIA: *Uncle Sam, you keep on cleaning the ballot-box, while I give this a scrubbing. . . .*

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When Citizens Unite

By HENRY BENTLEY

OVER since Lord Bryce in his American Commonwealth forty-three years ago said "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States," there has been a consistent, determined effort to correct this failure. Great advances have since been made in the technical form of city government, but very little attention has been paid to the equally important technique of uniting citizens to secure the election of men and women, who are prepared and willing to put in practice the best methods of administration.

A proper system of elections and a proper framework of government are the tools necessary for effective functioning of democracy. But if the tools are entrusted to the political machine, the resulting work is not likely to be an artistic success. The majority of voters in every city desires to elect proper officials and to have government operated without fear or favor. Yet unless the scattered voters are definitely organized this can not be accomplished. They are outsiders looking in and their efforts to effect reform have only the weight of criticism. In the past little attention has been paid to citizen political organization. This important work has been handled solely by the political machines for personal profit and politics has come to have a sinister meaning. The name "politician" in our great cities has become a term of contempt. The truth is that the misuse of political power has been so widespread that the condemnation has been visited upon the subject instead of upon the offending representatives.

Political parties are required for the proper functioning of democracy. The most tragic error made by political reformers is the confusion of political machines with political parties and the consequent erroneous use of the term "nonpartisan." Nonpartisanship unless effectively organized is individualism run wild. It discourages cooperation and places the many individualists who desire good government at the mercy of the small organized machine that profits by bad government. The technique of citizen organization for political action is today in the same relative position that the technique of municipal organization for efficient government was when Lord Bryce penned his indictment. It is the most important problem before the city dwellers of the United States.

In almost every city it is the same: a political machine in control—in control through the fact that every city employe must work for its success or lose his job. The candidates for office selected at a primary in which few citizens are interested. The number of offices is so many and the names of the candidates of so little importance, that the average citizen either does not vote or votes for the ticket he is handed by an election worker at the polls. Happily, however, the same forces that effected the transformation of the forms of municipal government are now interested in the problem of establishing citizen control of political organization. Many theories of organization have been propounded only to be broken to bits against the hard rocks of actual fact, but in a few cities effective citizen organization has been developed. Take Cincinnati for instance.

WHEN Survey Graphic asked me to write an article on this subject, I decided to approach the subject by the modern scientific method of determining theory from observed facts rather than by twisting facts to fit a preconceived theory. Accordingly I have centered attention upon the history of this movement in Cincinnati, merely suggesting the general theory that may be inferred therefrom. During the last six years a novel form of citizen organization for political activity has been established in that city and has definitely proved its superiority over the old-fashioned political machine. It is unique and has a nation-wide interest and application.

In 1923 political conditions were intolerable. The streets were impassable, the police and fire departments were undermanned. The city revenues were inadequate. The public had so completely lost confidence in their elected officials that extra tax levies and bond issues were consistently defeated at the polls. Yet while a majority of the voters regularly refused adequate supplies of money to the elected officials, with equal consistency or inconsistency they voted to elect the same officials nominated and supported by the old political machine.

In Cincinnati and Hamilton County there were in 1924, sixty-eight hundred jobs and 683 precincts, an average of ten jobs to a precinct. If each jobholder controlled but two and one half votes in addition to his own, the sum total was 23,800 votes in the primary—and from 1884

So bad was the government of Cincinnati in 1924 that even the streets were full of holes. The helpless taxpayers saw millions of dollars wantonly wasted. Cincinnati was commonly referred to as one of the worst governed cities in America. In 1915 a new day dawned. By 1927 the streets and boulevards were so smooth that salesmen complained they were unable to find places to test automobile springs. All along the line the tax dollar was buying one hundred cents of service. Cincinnati adopted as its slogan "the best governed city in America"—and came wellnigh deserving the title. The citizens of Cincinnati had organized as effectively as had the politicians in days gone by. Their organization had put over a new form of government responsible for Cincinnati's redemption. How the citizens' organization—a sine qua non of good government —was developed, how it may be developed in any other city, is told in Mr. Bentley's article.

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to 1924 there had been no primary election in which 25,000 votes were not sufficient to control nominations. Nominations once decided, the ordinary voter had no real choice of candidates. His choice was between two handpicked slates, the one termed Republican and the other Democratic.

This was the situation seven years ago in Cincinnati. We conquered it by citizen organization. A group of civic-minded citizens absolutely dissociated from any political machine organized a citizens' party completely divorced from national politics. We called it the City Charter Committee. The same year a city charter was adopted changing the form of government from a mayor and a council of 32—26 elected from wards, and six at large—to a council of nine, elected at large, by proportional representation, and a city manager selected by council. We carried this by a vote of 92,501 to 41,105 against the opposition of the local Republican machine—and this in a presidential year when Coolidge secured 95,000, Davis 26,000 and LaFollette 31,000 votes. In the first election following we elected six councilmen while the Republican organization, which in the preceding election had secured the mayor and thirty-one out of thirty-two councilmen, elected only three.

HOW was this accomplished? By adopting the same sort of organization for political purposes that has proved successful in business and in social service. We utilized an unpaid board of directors and paid skilled executives. We aroused a new loyalty in the citizens by declaring that the responsibility rested upon them, and that all workers in the wards and precincts must be volunteers and must work for the cause of good government alone. The system of party patronage to reward workers was abolished. The people met the test. Stated thus, the solution of the problem seems simple. But no worthwhile achievement was ever accomplished without prodigious work, and Cincinnati was no exception.

We studied the situation. Obviously the first step necessary to correct the abuses of the political organization was to centralize responsibility. We proposed cutting the number of councilmen. The voter should at least know the names of the candidates. We proposed to accomplish this objective by abolishing the use of party emblems in municipal elections. "Vote for men and not for birds," became the rallying cry and our little group was called the Birdless Ballot League. The machine poked a lot of fun at the Birdless Ballot but this only served to center attention on the movement.

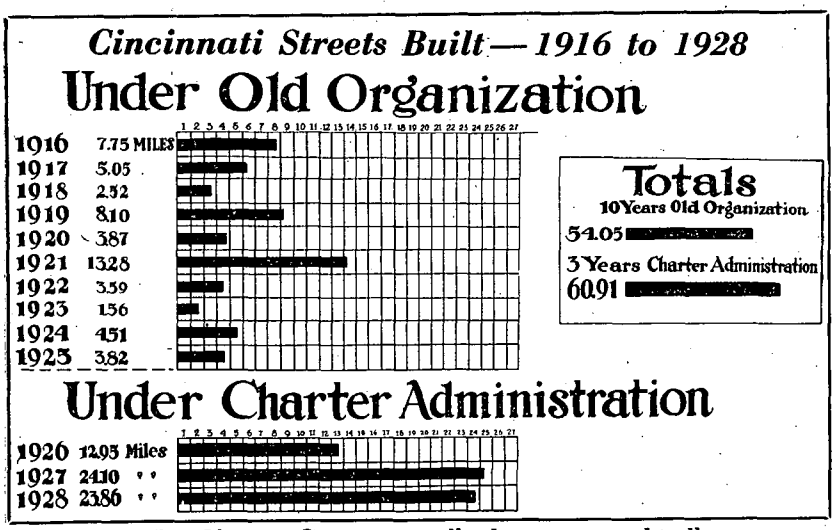
There already existed many groups of citizens each of which had confidence only in its own panacea for the ills to which the body politic was heir. Cooperation was therefore impossible and the political organization fattened upon this lack of unity among its opponents. But several of these groups became attracted to the ideas of the Birdless Ballot League. With a limited objective it did not conflict with their own pet theories, and it might be made to work in harmony with their own plans. Groups that never before had cooperated with one another were willing to cooperate with us. One interested in the city manager form of government was in existence and we extended our program to include a city manager.

Cover of a pamphlet of the City Charter Committee, Cincinnati

To avoid introducing controversial questions at the first election, we drafted an amendment that changed but one section of the charter, substituting for a mayor and large council elected largely by wards, a city manager selected by the council and a small council elected at large by proportional representation. To insure the additional necessary changes we provided that six months after the first council had taken office it should appoint a commission of three to draft and submit to the electors a complete revision of the charter.

Thus our first campaign was conducted upon a principle and not upon personalities—a gigantic advantage, for people can be united much more easily upon an idea than upon personal likes and dislikes. Too often reformers make the mistake of believing that men and women follow leaders. They do not; they follow causes, and a leader is but an inevitable concomitant of a successful cause. If you are to get anywhere with municipal reform remember you must have a program, and a principle to which you can give allegiance. The leader will rise from the followers and the cause will be triumphant.

To get over to the people the idea underlying our program we instituted a campaign of education. We appealed to schools, churches and men's and women's clubs. Both sides of the question were presented, for we invited to our meetings speakers who represented the opposition. To their astonishment, the old organization leaders found that some of the impractical reformers were convincing debaters, and usually the audience was with the reformers and against the well-known political leaders.



The Charter Committee tells the story graphically

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We selected as educational secretary to organize the women a woman who had formerly been the secretary of the League of Women Voters. Her accomplishments were surprising, for once having learned the need of the governmental change the women were willing to help persuade others to vote for the amendment. In a short time women were working as precinct executives and block workers, calling on their neighbors, polling their precincts and delivering copies of our campaign literature.

At first the organization regarded this fight as a joke. The idea of a little group of political idealists accomplishing anything seemed to them ridiculous. But it was too late to stem the tide. An effort to defeat the movement by the old political trick of divide-and-rule failed. The old organization saw that almost everyone was in favor of a small council. It therefore proposed two additional amendments to the charter, both providing for a small council of nine, but omitting from both the three other provisions of our charter amendment, namely, election by proportional representation at large and without party emblems, nomination by petition and not by party primary, and provision for a city manager. It placed its two amendments and our original amendment on the ballot at the same election and thereafter spent its energy in characterizing as socialistic and bolshevistic the other provisions of the latter amendment.

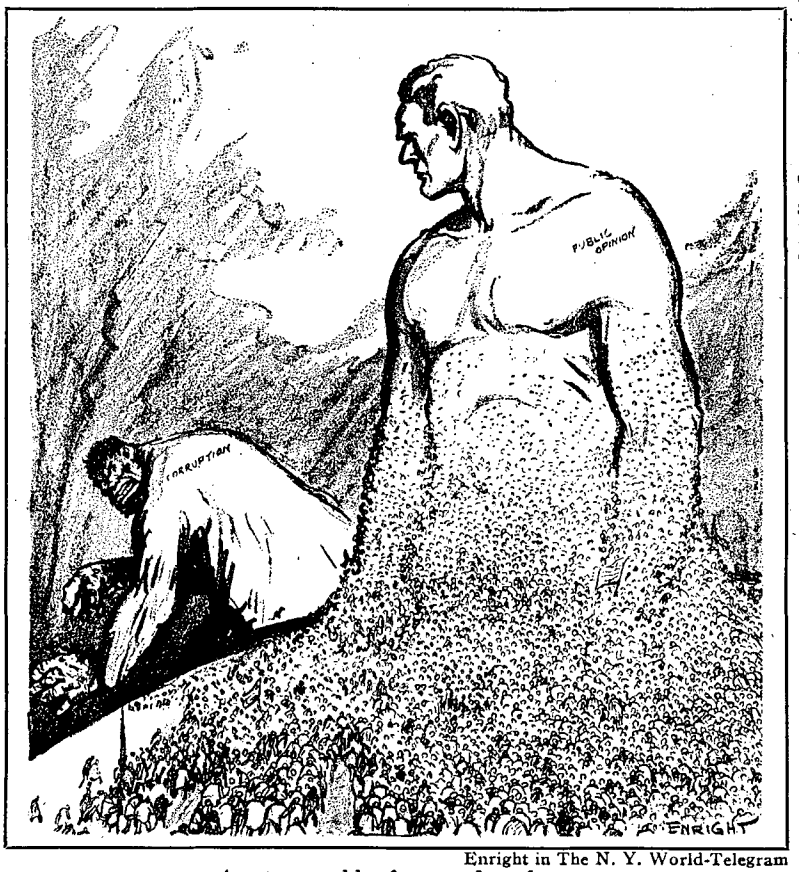
There was danger that the vote would be divided between the three mutually contradictory amendments, that none or that more than one might receive a majority. The old gang had placed our amendment on the ballot between the two amendments proposed by it, labelling all three amendments as proposals to secure a council of nine. We refused to be caught in this trap and concentrated on the argument that if after all these years the organization conceded that a small council elected at large was better, surely it would be well to adopt our amendment providing for a commission to revise the whole charter after a year and a half of study. We devoted the last weeks of the campaign solely to urging our supporters to vote "no" on the first amendment, "yes" on the second, and "no" on the third.

Nineteen-twenty-four was a presidential year and La-Follette feeling was running high in Ohio. Though we constantly insisted that the local question had nothing to do with national politics, the local Republican organization argued that to remove party emblems from municipal elections was an attack upon the two-party system. However when the votes were counted our amendment had won by more than two to one. The voters had separated national from local issues, for Coolidge had received even a greater number of votes.

Our followers were enthusiastic over the victory. We capitalized their enthusiasm by giving a victory dinner. Nearly a thousand attended. Many had to be turned away. The temporary organization was made permanent; it was moved that preparations be made to take an active part in the first election under the charter.

This was the beginning of the City Charter Committee. A constitution was drawn and the control of the organization was entrusted to a board of directors of twenty-four, eight to serve one year, eight, two years and eight, three years, thereafter the terms to be three years. Membership was to be composed of those who had either worked or contributed money, each member to have an equal vote.

Whether the City Charter Committee should nominate candidates for council or merely select from and indorse candidates nominated by the two national parties was the first important decision to be made. In May 1925 it was decided that we nominate our own candidates. A ticket consisting of six independent Republicans and three Democrats was selected and approved. The candidates were of a type never before presented in Cincinnati. The Democrats endorsed the ticket and thus we were given representation on the Board of Elections to protect our interests.



Enright in The N. Y. World-Telegram

An irresistible force takes form

The followers of the charter amendment increased even beyond our expectation. Much credit should be given to our educational secretary, Emily Kneubuhl, and her successor Edna P. Strohm in organizing the women, for without the active cooperation of the women the campaign could not have succeeded. As already stated the City Charter Committee elected six councilmen, the Republican organization elected only three. Council organized and elected Murray Seasongood mayor, and selected Col. C. O. Sherrill as city manager.

I wish I could pause to tell you all that the council, the mayor and the city manager did to straighten things out at the City Hall, but you are interested in that merely as a demonstration that citizen government can be effective.

Now the second great decision became necessary. What should be done about the employes at City Hall? Practically every one of them had been arrayed against the City Charter candidates. All were members of the Republican organization. Should they be discharged? Should their places be filled by supporters (*Continued on page* 48)

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A New Deal at the City Hall

By LOUIS BROWNLOW

A NEW deal at the City Hall!

For well-nigh a century that has been the rallying-cry of American town-folk who had the moral conviction, or the economic thrift, or the political wisdom to wage war against the corruption, the waste and the footless futility that have characterized American municipal management. Whether moved by righteous indignation aroused at the barter and sale of public rights by boodling politicians and grafting officeholders; whether spurred to action because the tax bill was too high; whether urged to the struggle because of the conviction that the cancer of municipal venality unless removed would destroy the nation—all of these reformers have compressed into one phrase their aim: A new deal at the City Hall!

And today, believe it or not, there *is* a new deal at the City Hall.

Did the reformers get it? I fear not. The very word "reformer" has become an epithet of opprobrium. No one applies it to himself. Nor to anyone he loves. It is less popular than "racketeer," and in many minds means the same thing. Who did get the new deal? May I delay the answer to that question, as well as my effort to tell what that new deal is, until I run over the main points of the long struggle?

At first, and for many years, the new deal was sought by the party method. If the Democratic crooks were in the City Hall we would turn the rascals out and put in the Republicans. And vice versa. And then vice versa some more. It was ring-around-rosy. The Republicans we put in turned out to be more of the same, and we had it all to do over again. So we found that cock wouldn't fight. (Mind you we didn't find it out everywhere all at the same time and in some cities we haven't found it out yet. But I am taking a wide look at the whole country.)

Then we tried it by the economic class method. If the business leaders were in control of the municipal machinery, we sought the new deal by setting up a labor movement that would assure us honest government and no favors for the rich. In a few places this new deal was successful—it almost was in New York itself in 1886—but again hopes were dashed and the new deal somehow seemed underdone, or even raw.

We experimented with the moral class plan. The better element organized better government leagues and set out to purge the civic temples of the vile presence of the other element. Where this was successful honest men were put in the City Hall only to be used by shrewd persons for their own ends, shrewd persons who knew precisely how much sterling honesty and sheer stupidity can sometimes come wrapped in the same human hide. The new deal in such a case sometimes stopped petty payroll-padding only to open the door for a stupendous franchise grab.

Many were the variants. We nominated tickets of "business men" to oppose the "politicians," and when we elected them, as we sometimes did, the new deal frequently turned out to be quite other than we hoped for the simple reason that private business and public business require a different technique.

What new word is this in City Hall lingo—technique? Well, that is the little word that has done what all the other methods tried to do and couldn't. That is the word that actually has brought about the new deal at the City Hall.

The trouble was you see, that for all these years and through all these ballot-box battles and all these exposures and all these disillusioning disappointments, we had our eye on the wrong thing at the City Hall. What we were trying to change, with our new deal and all, was the personnel at the City Hall. We believed, and our faith was as sincere as it was naive, that if we could get honest men elected to municipal office they would give us honest city government. We tried it over and over again, but our faith never wavered until some of us began to open our eyes and to see that all around us, as enveloping as a fog, was a new era—the Technical Age.

And then not a party, nor reformers, nor business, nor labor, nor the better element, nor any particular set of people, but rather the spirit of the times began to make itself felt in the City Hall. It was discovered that the new deal that was really needed at the City Hall was not new men necessarily, but new tools and men trained to use the tools, whether the men were old or new. We needed honest men certainly, but it was found out that mere honesty without technical training and developed capacity wouldn't do what needed to be done.

IT was an insidious revolution. It worked so quietly and so frequently without the aid of either ballot or headline, that most people knew nothing about it—most people don't know much about it even yet. It crept up cat-like behind the equally unsuspecting politician and reformer, with only here and there a boodler to say "Scat!" or an occasional civic patriot to proffer it a dish of cream.

Not that there was not shouting and tumult. There was plenty of blood and thunder. The joke was that the shrilling and shrieking contenders on the hustings didn't know what it was all about. Those who fought for civil service battled for the right, the abstract right, of the merit system; and their opponents fought them to keep the spoils, the concrete spoils, of office. And all the while it was the fact that being a Democrat of whatever quality of probity or robust courage never qualified any person to become a microscopist; it was the fact that being a Republican of whatever degree of honor or stalwartness never qualified any person to become a chemist. It was facts such as these that were doing the business.

The new demands upon the municipal government for technical services compelled the employment of technically trained men and women to perform these services. The number of technical services grew and grew and the technical staffs increased in number and in power. Little by little the political figureheads nominally in charge of these

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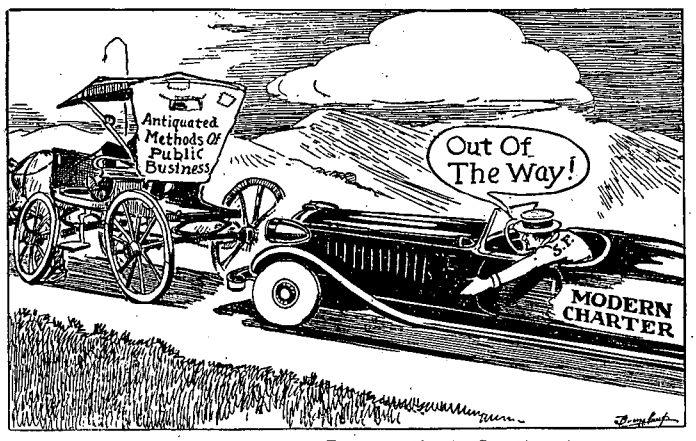
technical services were replaced by technically trained chiefs of departments.

Of course it was admitted all around that you had to have somebody who knew how to use a microscope and somebody else who knew something about chemistry down in the health department to keep the water pure, but any doctor was good enough for health officer—if he voted right. Until along came this fool notion that the health officer ought to be not only a doctor but a doctor who had been trained in public health!

The same thing happened to the engineers; to the accountants; to whole companies and regiments of office-holders. They simply had to know something about how to do their work—and the work they had to do was not so simple as it was in the days when Andrew Jackson was declaring that government duties were all so simple, or admitted of being made so simple, that any man at all could fill any public position.

Not only was the work not so simple as in the piping times of Old Hickory but government itself was becoming snarled up in this technological thing. (Not everybody recognizes it yet, of course. Warren G. Harding celebrated the centennial of Jackson's famous saying with the unctious, "Government, after all, is a simple thing.")

Government, even municipal government, gradually became a very complex thing, and we began to recognize, has a technique of its own. So we began to put technicians in charge down at the City Hall. Until today one in five of the City Halls in cities of more than twenty thousand people in the United States has a city manager in charge. He isn't elected, either. The people have elected a council to represent their views about policies, and the council has hired this technical fellow to execute those policies and to manage the rest of the troupe of trained technicians.



Bronstrup in the San Francisco Chronicle

"It gets them over the road at sixty an hour and that's better than the old mare ever did"

Of course the machine—in a new sense—isn't perfect. It isn't foolproof. The control is still, where it ought always to be, in the people—the dear, wobbling, changeable, emotional people. They don't know what is under the hood, but it gets them over the road at sixty an hour and that's better than the old mare ever did with even the most yellow-wheeled buggy. (It really would injure the motor car industry, you know, if every car owner had to be master of all the technique he buys. But every car owner must be able to control the car—to make it go where he wants it to go. Even then there are accidents.)

But it isn't only the city managers with their increasing tribe. Not by any means. The city managers are merely part of the symptoms of this new deal at the City Hall. They are its symbols, not its cause.

The real cause is Technology. The real masters of the new deal are the Technicians. Every passing year sees them capture a new bureau or division or department of municipal government. This war is being fought along a long front and there are some thousands of sectors in each of which there is the tumultuous surge of battle, now advance and now retreat.

But over the whole long line the Technicians are gaining ground. Communications are not good and most of us see the battle only in our own particular sector—about our own particular City Hall. But remember it is unsafe to judge the whole battle from what we see just there.

Now something else is happening. The Technicians are rapidly organizing for the Big Push. Soon they will be ready, and when that zero hour does come the war will be won and the day of the Amateur at the City Hall, be he politician or reformer, will be over. Then the voters will find that the men and women whom they choose as their local legislative representatives to express their will with respect to the policies and activities of their local government, will no longer rest content with passing a law to attain their ends.

They will take the next step, the effective, necessary step of employing technically trained administrators to carry their policies and their program into execution—sans graft, sans waste and sans unnecessary talk.

How will this Big Push come? It will come when the Technicians become Professionals. And that is what they rapidly are becoming. The hundreds of national associations of local government administrators, the many hundreds of state organizations of local public administrators, slowly but surely and increasingly from year to year are ceasing to think of themselves merely as office-holders; even as technically qualified office-holders. They are beginning to think of themselves as professional men and women engaged in the practice of their honorable and highly responsible profession of public administrators.

Their new attitude towards themselves expressed in their work with each other in their professional associations will increasingly give them strength to resist the corrosive effects of the low prestige to which popular opinion in this country—alone in this respect among the civilized countries of the world—degrades them. With this support of their own self-esteem their prestige will begin to increase. And with prestige will come recognition and with recognition power.

There is a New Deal at the City Hall.

Of course I know that there are still crooks in city government and that corrupt politicians still conspire with corrupt business men and corrupt labor leaders and with criminals and gangsters and racketeers to betray the—I was about to write "betray the trust of the people." But that would not be true. They betray the people assuredly, but not the trust of the people for the people don't trust them.

But in other City Halls in other cities, and today they are to be numbered by the hundreds in the United States, the people do trust—and rightly so—the honorable politicians who are their leaders and who guide the technical organization that the professional public administrators have created.

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Strong Mayor vs. City Manager

By PAUL R. LEACH

BY the nature of his work a newspaper political writer is a bystander. Usually he is an interested bystander and frequently, in spite of his inclinations to remain aloof and critical when observing such things as the operations of various forms of municipal government, he becomes a partisan.

In looking a bit more than casually into this new thing in local government called the council-manager system, I tried to reduce indexes of the strong mayor, council-manager and commission forms of government to a lowest common denominator for comparative purposes. I found such a thing impossible short of an exhaustive study of each individual case. But being responsible for a series of daily newspaper dispatches time was lacking, were it otherwise feasible to attempt to make such a study. Hence I have simply looked as a student of politics at the city manager—after seeing the strong-mayor system of Chicago at work—first with a critical eye, then a sympathetic one. As a result of my observations, in spite of vigorous assertions of old-style politicians that the city-manager plan will not work in large cities, I believe that were such a plan in operation in Chicago, even though as much a failure as it is said to be in some cities now so governed, it would be an improvement over present conditions. I mention Chicago merely for illustration and because I am more familiar with this strong-mayor governed city than any similarly constituted local government. The same impression would apply to any other city that is struggling along under too much machine politics in a political system.

It has taken a country-wide economic depression, with the greatest orgy of public money spending by old-style municipal governments, to impress upon the notoriously lethargic public mind that some things could and must be improved. Reversals in party control in elections under the old forms and a general tightening of citizens defense where new forms have been adopted, have provided unmistakable indications that the voters, loaded down in some cases almost to the point of property confiscation with real-estate taxes, are at least beginning to think of changes.

When the American political history of the present decade is written a good part of the story certainly will deal with simplification of local government forms—simplification and, to use the mildest term applicable, civilization. Furthermore the story will have much to say about unorganized citizens who are learning to fight political fire with brimstone.

As I have said, comparisons on a unit basis between cities of different governmental forms must be left to the municipal government engineer and statistician. For instance, the tax-rate of Chicago under the strong mayor, with its finances in a muddle partially because of unrestricted spending and partially because of a real-estate reassessment that has delayed revenue collections for more than a year, and with the public-school board a part of the municipal government, cannot be compared to Cincinnati's rate under a city manager and with public education divorced. While tax assessments are based on a full valuation in Chicago, the actual assessment is spread on 37 per cent of the valuation. In other cities a partial valuation is made and used as the base, or a full fair cash sale valuation is the base.

AS a political writer I have found the political effects of greatest interest in my comparative study of the city-manager and other municipal systems that have grown out of the old strong-mayor plan—or rather the politics that have made the new system possible and workable.

The old system is feasible and economical if administered in an ideal manner. That however, has come in many cases to be regarded as almost impossible. Even the federal government operates to a large extent on the spoils-politics plan—though on a much higher scale than do state or local governments, but spoils politics nevertheless. Congressmen and senators dictate the appointment of federal servants—collectors, judges, marshals, supervisors—on the basis of their service to the political party in power. The ideal of federal service contemplates elimination of political appointments, but as long as voters permit themselves to be dominated in their suffrage by emotion instead of cold reasoning the realization of that ideal is far distant.

Just what is this plan under which 442 cities operate—one out of every five of over twenty thousand inhabitants? It is very simple. The voters elect the members of the council who in turn appoint—and may remove—the city manager, a trained administrator. He in turn appoints and may remove all heads of departments and, subject to civil-service provisions, is responsible for the appointment and removal of all other officers and employes in the administrative service of the city. While the council may remove the manager at any time, it may not interfere with him in making appointments or removals; neither may the council give orders to any employe in the administrative service except through the city manager. Responsibility is centralized, so that either credit or blame may be placed upon the proper shoulders.

Among proponents of the new thing in local government the city of Cincinnati is held up as a bright and shining example of realization of an ideal. The same persons say that Kansas City operating under that same city-manager plan is the most complete failure. Perhaps Cincinnati is not as complete a success as those ardent city-managerites outside of Cincinnati contend. Certainly Kansas City has not failed as completely as they say it has. The reason for Cincinnati's outstanding success so far under a city manager is due almost wholly to the fact that a powerful citizens' organization actually imbued with

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civic consciousness has been militant and vigilant. The reason for the so-called failure in Kansas City is that the plan has been party-controlled rather than citizen-controlled.

Cleveland, under a city manager, has had a bit of control by both citizens and political parties and yet Cleveland has had better government than it previously had under its old strong mayor since the days of Tom Johnson. Rochester started off with a bang, the citizens whipping the party bosses and making them like it, then losing interest. Dayton and Zanesville have had reasonable success with the manager form. St. Paul, Indianapolis and other cities of similar size have seriously considered the manager plan but have been unable to find courage to take the plunge. Minneapolis gets along reasonably well with its commission form of government, as does New Orleans. San Francisco, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh muddle through with the strong-mayor-council idea, but there are many men and women in all those cities who have been studying the manager plan closely and trying to convince themselves that it would work well in their cities—wondering at the same time how it could be brought about politically.

If instead of concentrating on propaganda for the manager plan for big and little cities, the proponents of that form of local government would devote more attention to the foundation work necessary wherever the new in government is to be introduced, they would better serve their own cause and that of the taxpayers in general.

As a matter of fact, although my observation of the three forms of government in various principal American cities has led to the impression that the hired, strong-manager executive is the ideal for our city governments, in the last analysis I believe the form of government would not matter if the responsible people of every American city would only do what the people of Cincinnati have done. That city with two excellent city managers in office since the plan was adopted, is called a model. Little or no credit is given to either the Ohio statutes which permit cities of that class to adopt their own charters and do as they please, or to the City Charter Committee. Cincinnati can change its charter every year if it wants to and if the people in referendum approve, because the Ohio statutes permit such action.

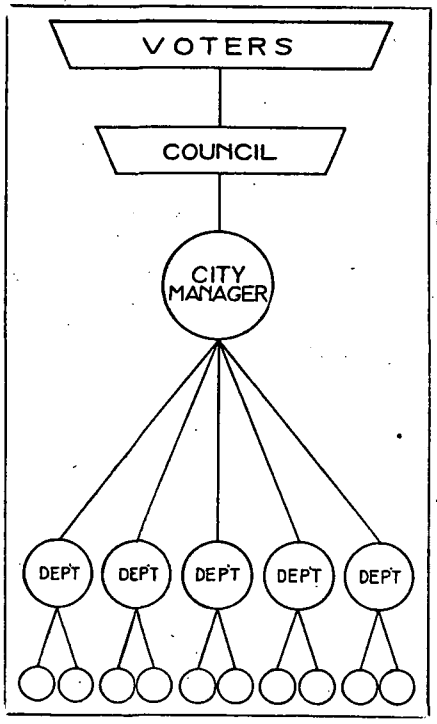
Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

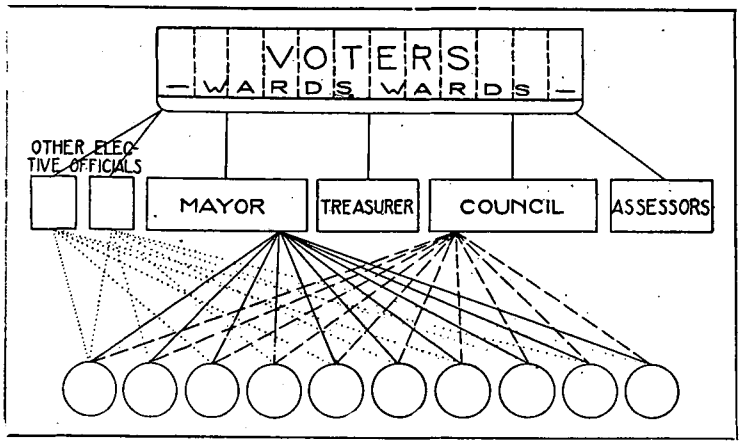
The circus packs up

Students of government on the other hand look with amazement upon Chicago's antiquated and confused local government, not realizing that the city of Chicago, which is one half of the state of Illinois in population and in revenue provided, cannot take a single step in city government reform without an enabling act being passed by the state legislature.

A few men and women with the vision and the persistence and force—perhaps you may call it fanaticism—of Henry Bentley, Max Hirsch, John Emery, Ralph Holterhoff, Guy Mallon, Edna Strohm and others of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, could make a success of local government in any of our American cities under no matter what plan of government. Taxes could be reduced materially, purchasing could be centralized and standardized, accounting could be simplified, monthly balance-sheets could be made available, and a dollar's worth of service could be had for each dollar of revenue if the people who are misgoverned and robbed by the party troglodytes could only be brought to realize that they are bigger than the machines when they are properly and militantly organized.

Cincinnati has been fortunate in having Murray Seasongood and Russell Wilson as mayors. They are exceptional types. The City Charter Com-





The city-manager plan (left) and the old mayor-council form of government. Charts from National Municipal League, New York

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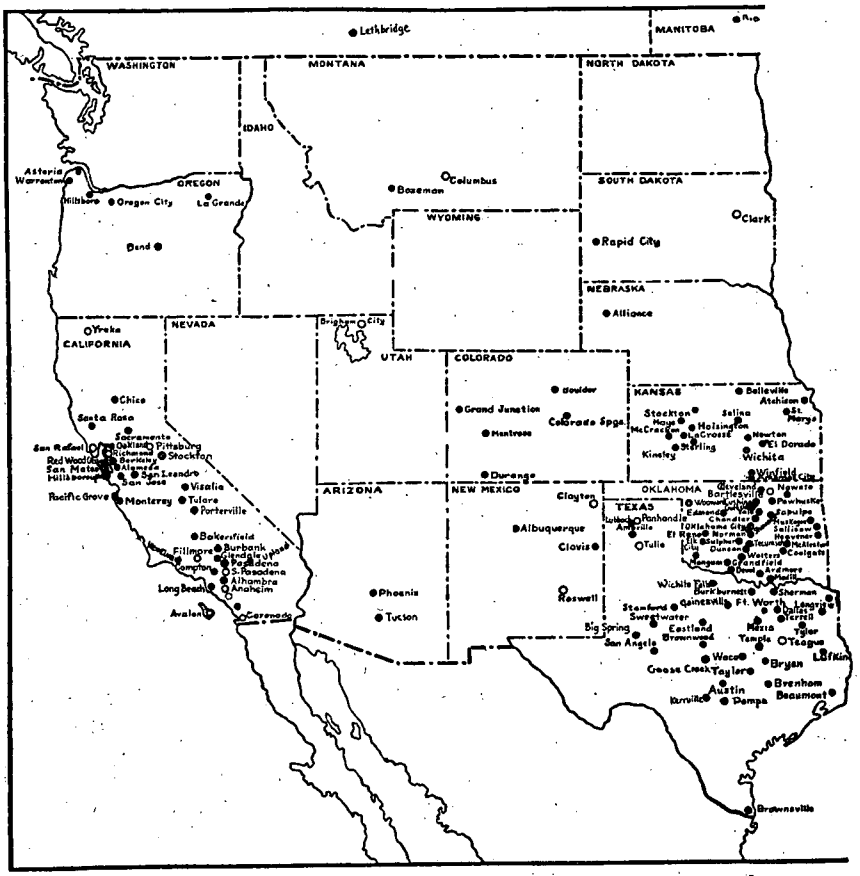
mittee could not have achieved the success that it has without Seasongood's sense and probity, nor could it have carried on as it has in subsequent elections had it not been for its eternal vigilance. The city government could have been a dismal failure, no matter how well planned, had not City Managers Sherrill and Dykstra been of the high type the country knows them to be. I do not mean to imply that the city-manager form of government is not superior to the strong-mayor plan, for of course even a cursory study of any city-manager municipality will demonstrate its virtues over old systems, just as a study of the modern business office will certify its efficiency in contrast to the business office before business machines were invented.

What Cincinnati did politically however can be done in any city, but it takes never-ending hard work plus the fanatic belief that the obstacles thrown up by the old party bosses of spoils politics can be beaten down. There can never be a let-down in effort between elections. Indianapolis had a strong charter organization under the leadership of John Esterline but it was not strongly enough imbued with Esterline's determination. Rochester lost a part of its grip because the people who forced adoption of the manager form went into a batting slump after elections. Party bosses retain power by working twelve hours a day, 365 days a year, at the job, and the same formula applies to all forms of government. St. Paul, under the old mayor-council form, recently has had as clean a government as most manager-council cities because it has had a strong organized labor group interested in politics. The business agents have not produced the ideal type of trained public executives by any means, but they have produced honesty, plus an effort at least to give full service for the tax dollars.



Distribution of 425 council-manager

At the time of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 Chicago was beset by the "gray wolves," its government completely dominated by the political troglodytes, its citizens apathetic. There was no thought then of changing the form of government, but there was thought of reform in personnel—serious thought. The leading men of the city fought fire with fire just as the Cincinnati Charter Committee fought fire with fire—by organizing a political machine more powerful than that for which defeat was designed.

The Chicagoans of 1893 were not successful in eliminating the "gray wolves" from politics, but they neutralized them to a large extent. The operation was a comparatively simple one. At least one upstanding citizen of wealth and prominence and probity squeezed into membership on every board and commission in operation, and they obtained a strong minority in the city council. They were vigilant watchdogs. Graft was reduced to a reasonable minimum and according to some of the old-timers who sit now on the sidelines and criticize their juniors, Chicago got at least 80 cents worth of service out of every dollar spent. The difference was credited to waste due to overlapping effort and general inefficiency. That condition continued for nearly two decades. Then the upstanding citizens became more absorbed in their personal affairs and less in public affairs.

"It became cheaper for us to mind our own business and pay $2 for $1 worth of public service," one of those old ones told me ruefully a year or so ago. "I'd like to get into harness again, but I'm too old. These younger fellows—"

As the years wore on Chicago got itself into a deeper and deeper pit. There have been sensational stories in recent years of outlandish graft and in all that smoke there has been considerable fire. But Chicago's governmental troubles have been due no more to its elected and appointed administrators than to a system that is becoming so topheavy that it figuratively resembles the Pisa tower. Park districts were added by the state legislature; drainage districts came, also the forest preserves. The community spread out into independent suburban villages. Out of every twelve wage earners, one is on the public payroll. Today Cook County has some 419 separate tax-spreading bodies, few of them related. Each park district has its own police force, each separate government does its own purchasing, makes contracts for its own public improvements, issues bonds when approved in referendums, and many can borrow money on tax-anticipation warrants. Few communities indeed there are which do not pay taxes to twelve or more of those different tax-hungry assessing bodies.

The spending and the borrowing had reached such a high point in 1928 that sufficient reserves were not available for public purposes. The antiquated tax assessing and collecting machinery, under which any politician could "fix" taxes for big and little taxpayers for political prestige or personal fees, had been crying aloud for correction. The demand for added revenue and the necessity for removing at least some of the possibility of graft in "fixing" brought about a reassessment.

The reassessment was done by professionals and was a

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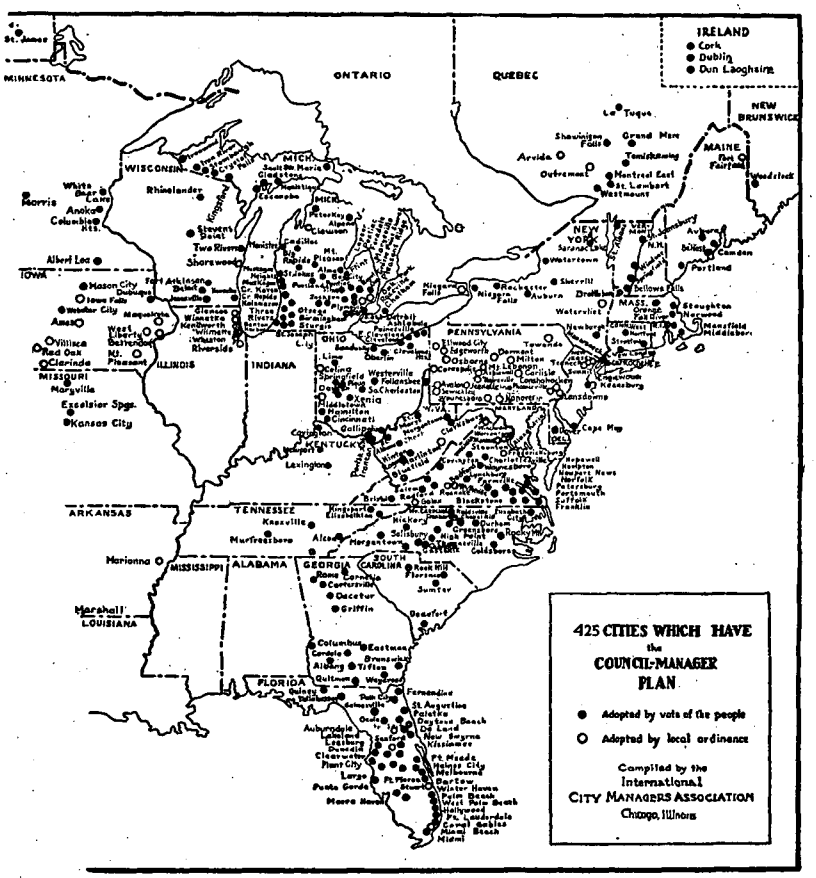

cities as of January 1, 1931

little better than the political method. But it had been delayed so long—partially because of the magnitude of the task involved in instituting a new system with individual appraisals in every instance, and partially because of obstruction by those who did not want to see the old easy way pass—that revenue ceased for nearly two years. No taxes were collected.

More borrowing on tax-anticipation warrants—more interest.

Tax bills went up as much as 100 per cent in suburban towns of Cook County in the first year of the reassessment—1928 taxes being collected in 1930. When in April 1931 the 1929 bills were mailed the suburban communities paid about the same amounts as in the previous years. But Chicago city taxes went up an average of 19 per cent. The county tax-rate had remained stationary but the increase in suburban tax bills was due to increased valuation. The suburbanites complained bitterly but were blandly told that their valuations had all been too low while Chicago city valuations had been either too high or not equable. Almost half of the 1929 taxes remain uncollected, many home owners being unable to pay, others refusing to pay on advice of one of a dozen "associations" they may have joined.

The republican mayor, William Hale Thompson, was defeated by a democrat, Anton J. Cermak, who had for eight years served as president of the Board of Cook County Commissioners. Thompson had become somewhat like Aristides in the old Athenian legend, for as Aristides was ostracized because the people were tired of hearing of "Aristides the Just," so Chicago was tired of hearing of "Big Bill the Builder." Cermak had been a good administrator as head of the County Board. The plea of his campaigners that he had kept the tax-rate of the county from rising while it had gone up in Chicago, contributed in some measure to his election. One of the strongest points in Cermak's armor was that three years before his campaign for the Chicago mayoralty he had been largely instrumental in putting through a survey of the overlapping county, city and district governments with a consequent recommendation for consolidation and refinement of the governmental bodies. According to the survey Chicago was getting as low as 25 cents worth of service out of every dollar spent while some of the better-ruled suburban communities were receiving as high as 80 cents. The average was found to be 60 cents worth of service from every dollar of revenue. It was estimated that a saving of between $35,000,000 and $70,000,000 a year to the Metropolitan Chicago area could be effected by the consolidations and modernizations urged in the report.

Here was a case of a community governed by the old strong-mayor system, and bound hand and foot to an unsympathetic state legislature, being asked to adopt many of the ideas embodied in the manager-council form of government. Simplification of elections to save between $500,000 and $1,500,000 annually was urged. Proportional representation with central counting of ballots has not been suggested. In fact there is some doubt about its workability in so large a community, despite the insistence of the "P. R." advocates that this cumbersome voting system would guarantee honest elections even in a large city.

But again reverting to Cincinnati, it must be admitted that proportional representation has been successful there, not entirely because of the system but largely because of the Charter Committee and its political machine—because the people themselves were on the job, counting the ballots.

Now Chicago has this same Anton J. Cermak as mayor, and a citizens committee he has appointed is conducting a survey of the city departments on a plan similar to that made of the whole area under Cermak's direction three years ago—and similar to that made in Baltimore. Cermak says he wants to consolidate overlapping departments, jack up the civil service or merit system under a strong administration of his civil-service commission, institute modern methods of bookkeeping and billing, bring about periodical publication of trial balances, reduce the number of unnecessary employes to a minimum, and in general cut down the cost of local government without impairing the essential services of the departments—and so reduce taxes. Taxes, already approaching confiscation, cannot be increased further. The political parties are beginning to realize that picked pockets made voters furious—and ready for reform.

SOME of these things can be done without "home rule," but further reforms in reduction of governmental costs to the metropolitan community depend on enabling state legislation. This Cermak says he intends to drive through the legislature in spite of an apparent down-state majority against the Cook County area. A constitutional convention failed in 1920. A commission of citizens appointed by Governor Emmerson to find ways and means for temporary legislative relief is looking toward another attempt at modernization of the state statutes to include "home rule," among other things.

In the last two sessions of the (*Continued on page* 64)

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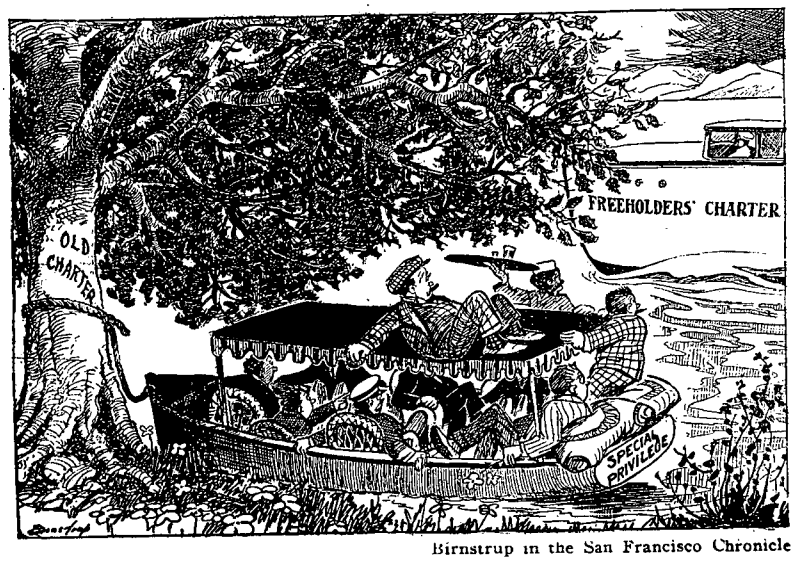
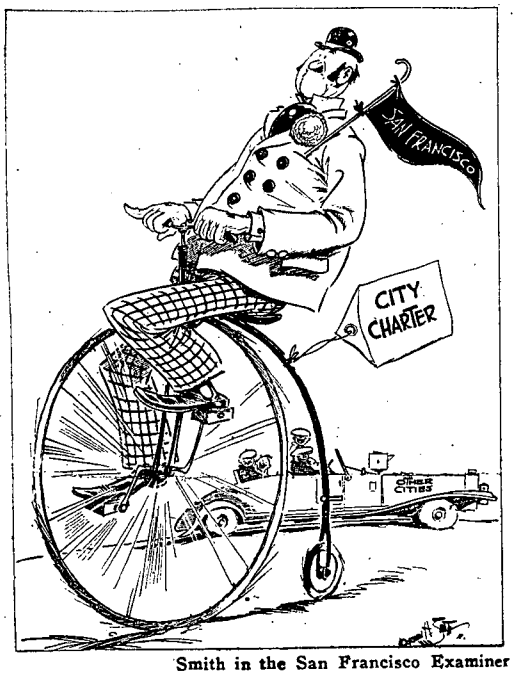
STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WAY THE WIND BLOWS



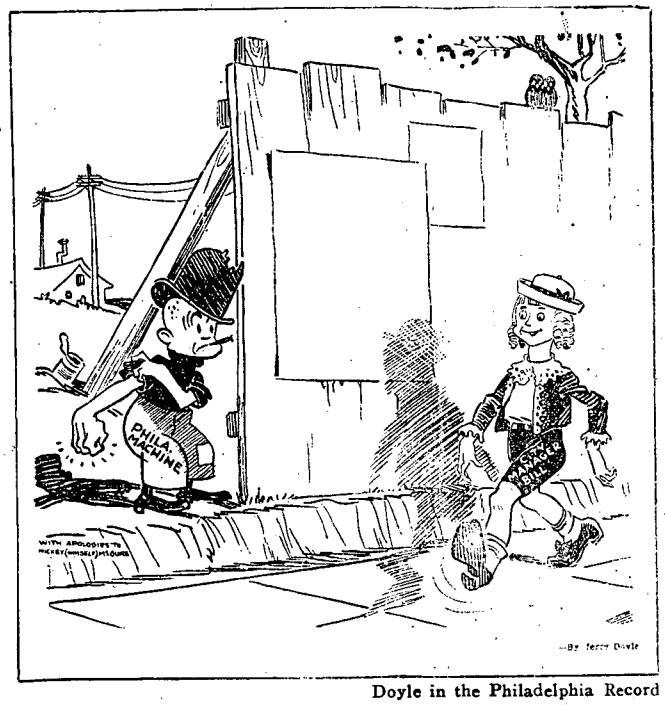
Birnstrup in the San Francisco Chronicle

Afraid It Will Rock Their Boat!



Smith in the San Francisco Examiner

'Git' Ap, Napoleon!



Doyle in the Philadelphia Record

A Nice Kid in a Tough Spot

Clubb in the Rochester Times-Union

He Won't Be Happy Till He Gets It

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Who Are These City Managers?

By LEONARD D. WHITE

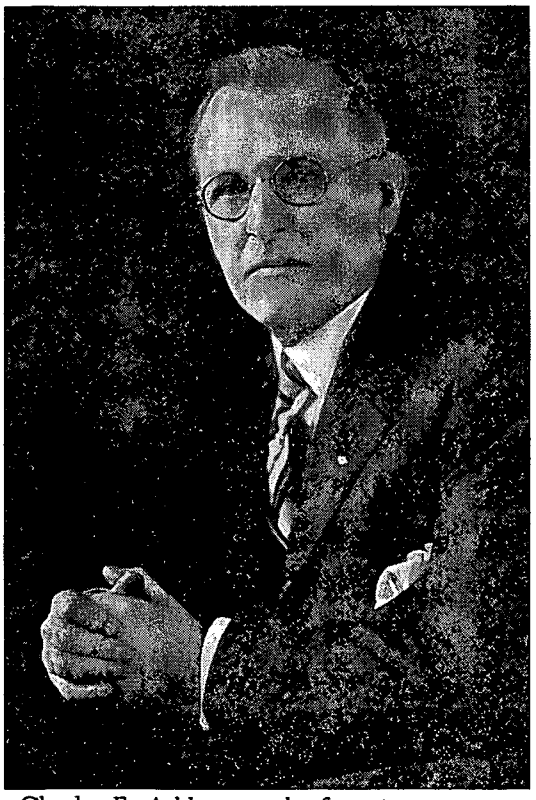
BACK in 1907 when "Honey Fitz" was mayor of Boston and Tom Johnson was more than a name in Cleveland and the muckrakers were stirring up a bad odor in city halls and state capitols up and down the country, the sleepy little town of Staunton, Virginia, quietly opened a new chapter in the book of history. There was trouble enough locally, although it spread no alarm beyond the neighborhood; the dam holding the city water supply burst, the local contractors refused to bid less than four thousand dollars to repair the damage, and the city fathers couldn't find the money.

In this embarrassing emergency they appealed to a Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad engineer who, as the story goes, said the job could be done for $737. The grateful councilmen eventually paid $735 and engaged the railroad engineer to run the city at $2500 a year. In this way Charles E. Ashburner, born in Bombay and educated in England, France and Germany, became the first city manager the world had seen.

Thanks to the skillful advertising of Richard S. Childs, the world was intrigued not only to look at the manager but to duplicate him at length, until in the year of grace 1931 there are over four hundred city managers in the United States, still others in Canada and, most recently, three in the Irish Free State.

Ashburner soon tired of the narrow round of Staunton and went to Richmond. The lure of the city manager game was too much for him however, and in 1914 he became manager of Springfield, Ohio; in 1918 of Norfolk, Virginia; in 1923 of Stockton, California. "A working whirlwind of a man," he burned the candle at both ends; revelling in big things, he built the Norfolk terminal and modernized the street system, then hurried across the continent to rebuild the Stockton Canal, destined in the imagination of some of its citizens to enable Stockton to replace San Francisco as the great western port of entry. The collapse of this expansive dream was the signal for Ashburner to retire from Stockton, seeking rest and other fields to conquer.

Ashburner typifies some managers but not all. As a group they are men formed under the pressure of unremitting work, spare, hard and often subject to severe nervous strain. Some, like McAdams of Waco and Edy of Dallas, seem to carry their work easily and comfortably, while others like Ashburner and Truxtun of Norfolk work at high tension much of the time.



Charles E. Ashburner, the first city manager

For the first twenty years the engineers provided more managers than any other single occupation. John N. Edy, formerly manager of Berkeley, California, and of Flint, Michigan, typifies the engineer in management at his best. Edy took the degree of civil engineer at the University of Missouri, and except for ten years in railroad construction has spent all his life in the public service, acting as chief engineer and managing executive of the Montana State Highway Department before he was selected from among 120 applicants to become the first manager of Berkeley.

Edy has a real genius for management and his work in Berkeley, while less dramatic than that of other men in other cities, was fundamentally sound. He sensed with exceptional accuracy the respective duties of manager and council and while recognizing his complete responsibility to the council as a body, said frankly that he could never afford to bend his decisions or recommendations to please individual members of the council. In himself he personified his own conception of the office of city manager, "one of dignity, responsibility and authority," and by his sincerity of purpose, right conduct and ability he established a remarkable degree of administrative leadership.

Every new employe in Berkeley received a letter from Edy in which the manager made clear that the city service was not conducted along political lines, that there were no soft or easy jobs, that employes were expected to be physically fit and mentally alert, and that the city service was to be efficient, businesslike, helpful and courteous. "The municipal service," said Edy, "is exacting, but it is an honorable service, worthy of your best efforts and your fullest faith. If you doubt that, don't sign up. If you believe it—and I believe it—you'll get a lot of joy out of the new job."

Managers are exceedingly busy persons and Edy was no exception to the rule. But he found time nevertheless to attend the University of California where he took the degree of master of arts in political science, and was well on his way to take his doctor's degree at Stanford when he was called to Flint, Michigan, as the first manager of that industrial town.

City managers are not tied, as every mayor is tied, to a single city. Ossian E. Carr, now manager of Oakland, California, has handled the affairs of six cities in succession. First appointed man-

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City Manager John N. Edy of Dallas

ager in Cadillac, Michigan, in 1914, he went to Niagara Falls in 1916, to Springfield, Ohio, in 1918, and to Dubuque, Iowa, in 1920, to Fort Worth, Texas, in 1925. Carr has probably had as much excitement to the square foot as any manager now in the game. In Niagara Falls he fought a corrupt vice ring, was sued for slander to the tune of one hundred thousand dollars, was sandbagged while on his way home one evening, and subjected to a constant stream of abuse. Instead of getting protection from a grand jury he was advised by these representatives of law and order to "lay off."

In Dubuque he fought a contractor's ring; in Fort Worth he ran square against the Klan which was vainly seeking to control certain appointments. The Klan one night burned forty fiery crosses, some in Carr's neighborhood; the manager appeared the next morning before a meeting of the city council and declared, "If the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are to run the city hall, there will be a new city manager here; they will not run me for five minutes." The manager won. A local newspaper man said of him: "Carr knows the inside of running a city—politics, contracting and fighting. He is a hard fighter; when he steps on a man he steps on him all over."

Such disturbances are not a regular feature of the manager's day, and Carr's splendid record rests less on his courage in handling situations such as these than on his fine engineering ability, his success in handling city finance, and his foresight in developing in Fort Worth an exceptional health and welfare service.

Managers are not politicians and almost without exception they lean over backward to avoid the entanglements of city politics. It is not always easy for them to refrain. Not long ago Louis Brownlow, then manager of Knoxville, Tennessee, was under bitter attack by a certain local faction. His friends advised him to make a public statement defending himself and his record. He refused, saying, "It would be highly improper for me to appear in any meeting having to do with the election of members of the council. I believe that any city manager who did participate in a campaign for the election of councilmen should be instantly dismissed in accordance with the letter and spirit of the charter, the chief purpose of which is to divorce the administrative and executive branch of the city government from politics."

Six months ago City Manager R. W. Rigsby then of Charlotte, North Carolina, discovered that he was being made the issue in the municipal campaign. Without hesitation he said to the city council, "Here is my resignation. Let the campaign go on with the full understanding that whoever is elected to the council, I shall not be the manager. I refuse to allow myself to become a political issue."

City Manager I. Walke Truxtun of Norfolk, Virginia, grew up in state and local politics, an ardent campaigner, in succession a member of the old common council and the board of aldermen and eventually president of the board. The local newspapers indignantly objected to his appointment as manager, expecting him to continue his political career in this powerful office.

Ossian E. Carr of Oakland, California

Truxtun construed such an attitude as a personal affront, and shouting, "By God, I will show them," he completely reversed his whole ambition, playing for efficient management with all the intensity with which he formerly played for political advancement. He scrupulously refrains from every connection with the city politicians, declines all invitations to speak and devotes himself exclusively to city business.

A city executive out of politics is just ceasing to be a novelty in America, however universal it may be in other countries. The managers are entitled to credit and respect for the success with which they have held to the ideal of professional, nonpolitical management of city business.

THE city manager movement is nearly a quarter of a century old now and already is setting itself a tradition. This tradition centers around some of the older men who have for the most part finished their careers as managers. Among them no one holds a more honored place than Col. Henry M. Waite, first manager of Dayton, Ohio, and the first manager to attract national attention. Colonel Waite is of a distinguished Ohio family which includes a former chief justice of the United States Supreme Court; he took his engineering degree at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and in the course of long practice developed a national reputation as an engineer. Waite possesses the characteristics of a leader and in four years at Dayton revolutionized the methods of city government. One of his associates in this great adventure characterized him as follows: "An extraordinary executive, a splendid engineer, socially a lion, especially among men, absolutely fair and just and one of the most alert minds in making decisions. He gave character, dignity and quality to the city government."

The difficulty of a city manager's job varies greatly from city to city. At first sight one might suppose a small town would be easier to manage than a large city. This is not generally the case; in a small town the taxpayers cannot afford high-grade men to run the several departments; the manager himself usually runs the electric-light plant, acts as city engineer and sometimes adds to himself as many de-

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partments as Mussolini had a few years ago. Then too in the small town the play of personality is much more important, and a manager runs the danger of offending some local potentate who can make all sorts of trouble.

Carr relates the amusing but significant story of his attempt to collect a dog tax from a reluctant widow in one of the small towns where he was manager. After the usual number of notices Carr was brought to the point where the only remedy left, if the tax was to be collected, was to put the widow in jail. Carr believes in collecting taxes and in treating all citizens alike; the widow was obstinate; the newspapers were playing up the "persecution" of the unfortunate lady; but Carr directed that the law take its course. The widow spent a night in jail and the next day paid the tax. Later she came to Carr's office, saying she wanted to see the first man who had made her do anything she didn't want to do.

In a large city these difficulties are lost sight of, but others of a more general order take their place. Even here affairs run smoothly in some towns and not so smoothly in others. Much depends on the press and very much on the character of the men and women in the city council. "Eliminate the manager, eliminate the council," once said Mr. Carr, "and the element of the city remains, gracious or glowering."

Among the men entering the profession in recent years there seems to be a larger number who come from other occupations than engineering. Stephen Story, manager of Rochester, New York, was trained in the National Institute of Public Administration and became director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research. As director he came into very close touch with the public affairs of Rochester and when appointed manager was probably better informed about the needs of the town than any one else.

Story has not enjoyed a quiet and peaceful administration; a part of his council has been unfriendly and he has been under the fire of organized labor. On the other hand he has won the city employes, who at the outset were hostile. Following the practice of managers everywhere, Story refused to discharge the old employes, most of whom were partisans of the Republican organization formerly in power. They remained in office but were at times openly hostile and generally aloof.

Stephen B. Story of Rochester

One incident shows how Story captured the fire department. A serious fire broke out in the neighborhood of some gasoline storage tanks, involving imminent danger of a terrific explosion unless the gasoline was turned off. The inlet was under the tanks which were supported on piles a few feet above ground, the grass burning furiously in the vicinity. Story took an assistant battalion chief, crawled under the tanks and after an hour's hard work succeeded in turning off all the gasoline inlets. After this exhibition of courage the Rochester firemen say they will "go through hell for Story."

Clarence A. Dykstra of Cincinnati

Clarence Dykstra, successor to Col. C. O. Sherrill as manager of Cincinnati, also has a non-engineering background. After pursuing graduate work in political science at the University of Chicago, he became secretary of the City Club of Chicago. Eventually he moved to Los Angeles where he became secretary of the Los Angeles City Club and later director of personnel and efficiency of the department of water and power, in which capacity he made an enviable record as an executive.

He also joined the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles, lecturing in political science. His appointment at Cincinnati is his first actual experience as a city manager.

A man of magnetic personality, Dykstra inspires confidence in all who meet him. He speaks extremely well, meets persons easily and presents his propositions convincingly. He knows the meaning of hard work, regularly putting in sixteen hours a day during the early months when he was new on the job.

He has already inaugurated a sweeping reorganization of the administrative departments, is in the process of reclassifying the service, and has done much to continue the steady improvement of the police service. Story and Dykstra illustrate a new type of manager of whom much may be expected in the next decade.

TO attempt to characterize managers as a class is a hazardous venture. We know that they are still predominantly engineers or business executives; we know that a growing minority are definitely conscious of a professional attitude; we know that a distressingly large proportion are still parochial in their outlook and limited in their ambitions; we know that most of them are men of action rather than men of thought who prefer to be known as those who "do" things rather than talk about them; we know that they are inured to hard and nerve-wracking effort; but any attempt at more subtle classification must await the interest of the psychologists and psychiatrists.

In conclusion it may be added however that as a class they are honest with themselves and with the community they serve; they avoid the clap-trap which still distinguishes some local politicians, and play for sound municipal administration with a candor and forthrightness which is most refreshing.

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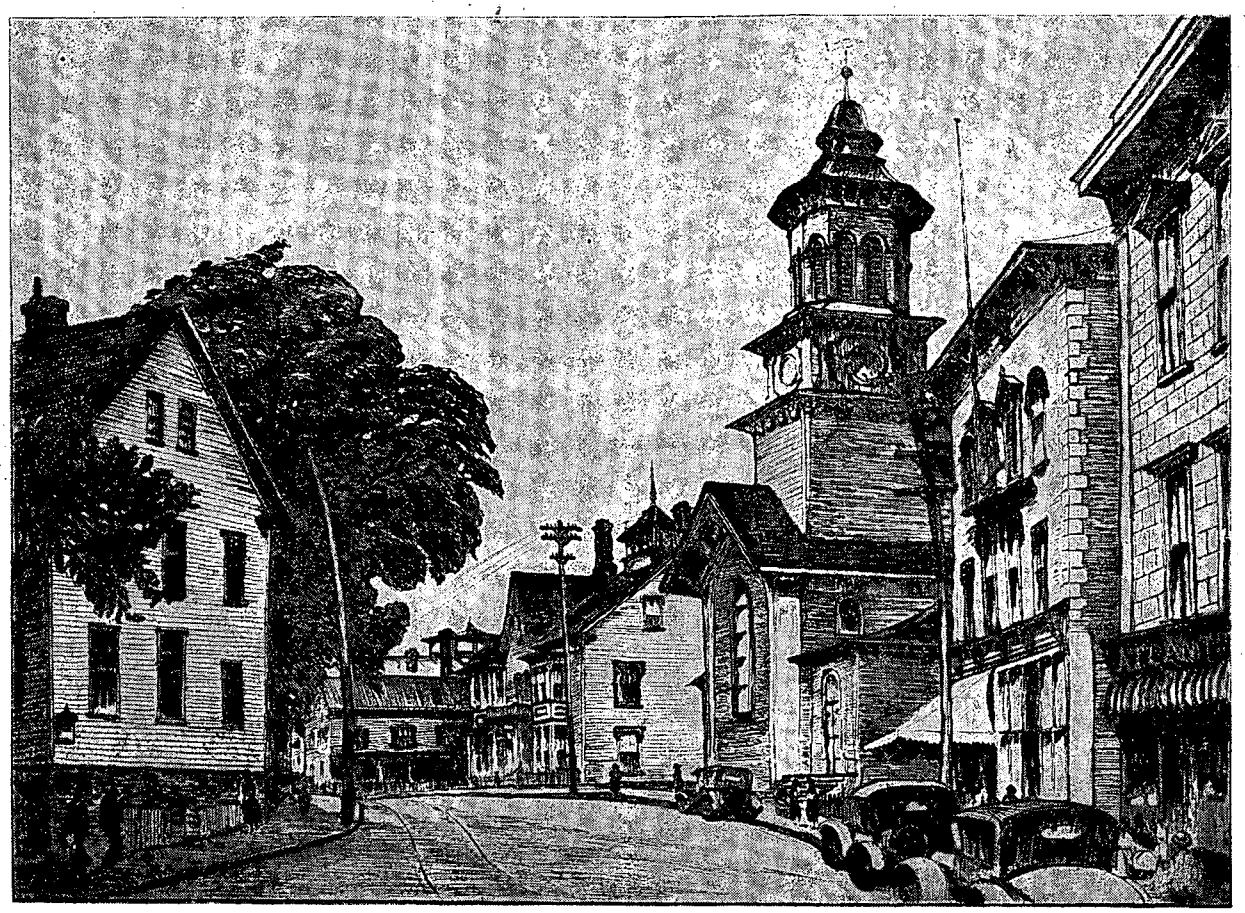

Courtesy Kleemann-Thorman Galleries, New York

STREET IN MARBLEHEAD

Etching by Max Kuehne

City Streets—

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Courtesy Kleemann-Thorman Galleries, New York

THE JUNGLE

Etching by Harry Wickey

—With a Difference

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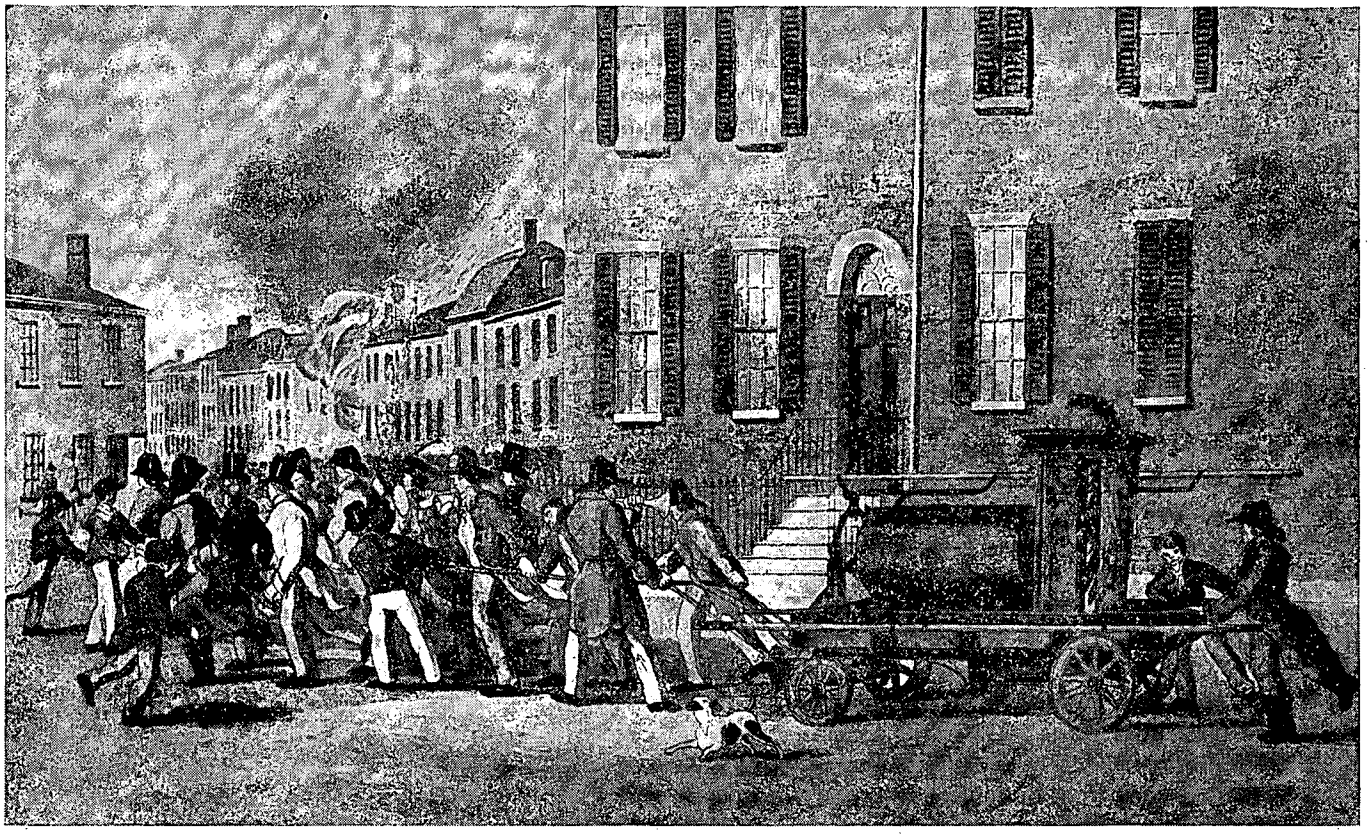

A blast from the horn and the volunteer fire department would rush to the rescue

The Greatest Social Worker of All

By WILLIAM J. NORTON

THE welkin is ringing with complaints against the high cost of government. We are told that tax rates are becoming confiscatory; that in particular the humanitarian branches of government are extravagant and luxurious, and should be either reduced greatly in volume or dropped altogether. A gentleman from Ohio about two years ago issued an apoplectic manifesto setting forth the very large increase in the cost of public-school building and administration during the preceding ten years, and proclaiming a crusade designed to restore education to its pristine simplicty and economy. A gentleman in Michigan recently suggested the closing of certain departments of a great public institution as one of several things that should be done in order to reduce taxes.

"Why not?" he said ingenuously, "I am keeping my summer residence closed while this depression lasts."

There you have the picture—summer homes, education, health and humanitarian services are in the same category in some minds. When we are hard up all of them become luxuries in the minds of a certain type of smug self-sufficient people.

If your grandfather had made a speech in 1865 predicting that during the lives of his depraved grandchildren city government would pay out of taxes for highly organized recreation departments, the neighbors would have tapped their foreheads and felt sorry for him. Yet in 1928 three fifths of all the recreation work in the United States was supported from public funds, while government shared the cost of another fifth. The answer is your grandfather and his friends didn't have the leisure that we have. The same is true all along the line.

The growth of governmental functions follows quite closely the discovery and general dissemination of new bits of knowledge—whether in the field of recreation, health, education and so forth.

Taxes are undoubtedly burdensome just now. Too many things have been bought in a hurry at too great a cost and the resultant large tax load is inequitably distributed. Government administrators, like business administrators, believing that the golden age of unlimited wealth was at hand, expanded greatly in the last few years, assuming many loads that would better have been left alone for the present at least. Just as the supposedly astute business man foolishly enlarged manufacturing and

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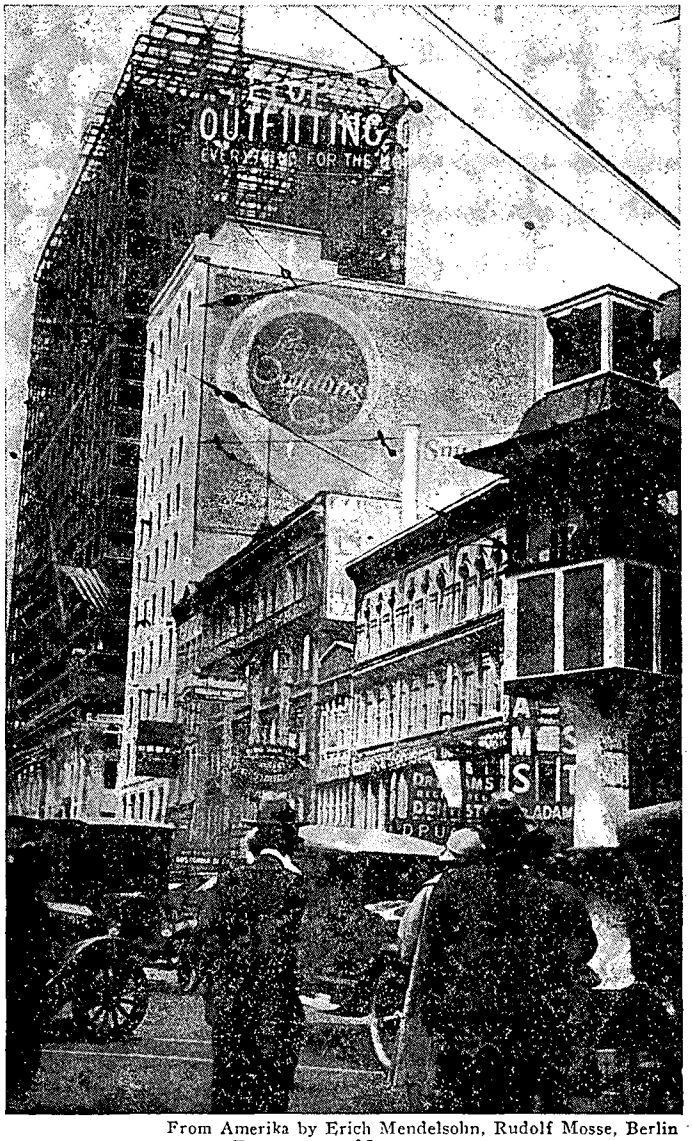
distributing capital equipment and forced the resultant products into the laps of consumers, largely through a series of pyramided, improvident and ultimately disastrous credits, so his more humble governmental administrative peer bought roads, giant sewers, parks, institutional buildings and various equipment through a similarly improvident process of bonded debt which ultimately must be paid, principal and interest, in mounting sums. We have been on a fifteen-year debauch, imbibing rose-tinted hooch brewed by private and public financial gents who were familiar with calculating machines but not with economics.

Taxes are heavy. They will be reduced somewhat for a time by the drives for economy. Some sane thinking may result in uniting costly units of local government, in combining overhead, in cutting off the froth and fanciful fringes grown up on many kinds of public service, in teaching educators and humanitarians to re-examine their programs in the light of costs measured against true production. We may also see a redistribution of the load of taxes, lifting the present nearly confiscatory levies on real property and spreading them on personal property, incomes, inheritances and maybe on sales. We shall sit still for a while, not adding services to government, particularly to local government, until the losses from tax delinquencies and shrunken incomes have been digested and a share of the heavy costs projected into the future through bonded debt has been paid off.

But the cry for the abandonment of the newer humanitarian services of government will rise and fall and end without action. These services will be purged of some extravagances and not a few tendencies to extravagance, which will be wholesome; but they will remain as functions of government because the people need and intend to have the common good that flows out of them.



From Amerika by Erich Mendelsohn, Rudolf Mosse, Berlin
Detroit traffic tower

What is not understood by the gentlemen who shout "paternalism," "the least government is the best," "down with the cost of government" and the like, is the fact that government is a growing organism and not a static or recessive one. Government is dominated by an evolutionary urge. One of the larger units of the general social structure, it expands along with the other units whenever man's capacity to regiment himself behind new knowledge and new machines adds new accruals of power and wisdom and wealth to the organized body we call society. So long as the humanitarian section and the general cultural section of that body expand, so long will government grow, because each breeds new needs that can best be met as a common service paid for from common funds. Moreover, whether we like it or not government is a consuming enterprise, eternally hungry to dominate and frequently to consume and to incorporate into its own system parts of other sections of the social body. Highways and schools are two quite different examples of how the segments of commerce or philanthropy may be sucked into the maw of government to become part and parcel of its own flesh and blood.

Let us look back a short distance into the story of one municipal government and see a little of this process at work. In the year 1824 the government of the city of Detroit carried on a very limited number of activities. The municipality had legislative, general administrative, election, taxing, accounting, legal, judicial, penal and street-maintenance services. That was all. Beyond these things government duties did not extend. One by one in the ensuing 107 years new functions and services have been added until today this simple mechanism of over a century ago, which was generally characteristic of the governments of the period, has become a giant structure with over three hundred separate things of major importance which it does for the people.

In 1865 it began the organization of an embryonic police department to which has been added year after year some thirty specialized departments representative of the up-to-date metropolitan police department. The duty of fire-fighting was not officially assumed by the city until 1867 and although the department grew and improved the technique of fire-fighting the idea of prevention was not incorporated until 1918.

In 1883 the elementary poor-relief work brought down from colonial times in county and township governments was re-organized and Detroit established the beginning of a modern department of public welfare with functions of outdoor and indoor relief, hospitalization and the burial of indigents. Eight years later free medical service was added through a corps of physicians. Nineteen years after that a specialized service for the aged poor, which was in effect an old-age pension system, was created. In the following year the Charities Clearing House came into existence together with an attempt to adopt the case-work system. In 1920 an em-

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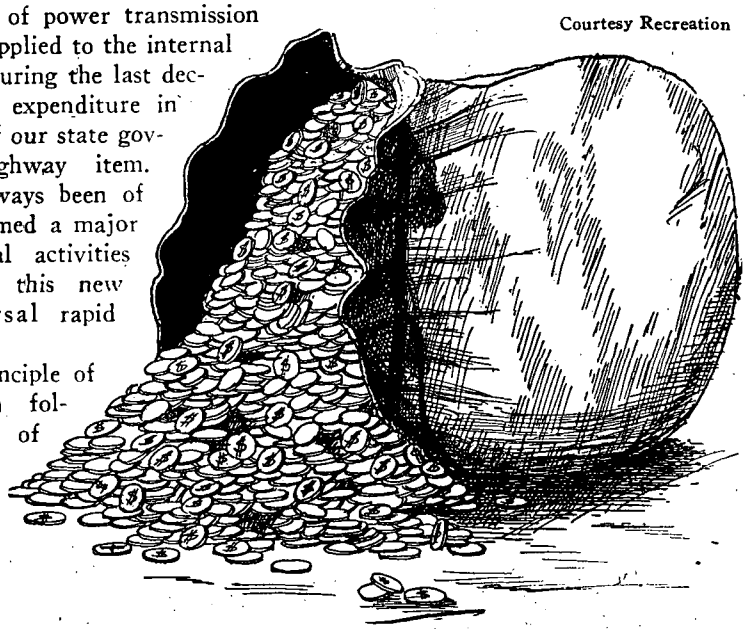
ployment bureau appeared. In 1929 special assistance to dependent children was organized. And in 1930 a municipal lodging-house became another accretion to the system.

The growth of governmental functions while having the appearance of accident follows nevertheless quite closely the discovery and general dissemination of new bits of knowledge. Automobiles came into their own during the first two decades of the twentieth century following the discovery of how certain principles of power transmission and control could be applied to the internal combustion engine. During the last decade the largest single expenditure in the budgets of many of our state governments is the highway item. Roads which have always been of some importance, assumed a major place in governmental activities with the advent of this new knowledge of universal rapid mobility.

Courtesy Recreation



Public recreation's money-bag in 1906 held $904,000. In 1929, $33,539,805

Nowhere is this principle of government expansion following the growth of knowledge more apparent than in the field of public health. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century the filth theory of disease was prevalent. Detroit's government started sewage disposal in 1836. The germ theory of disease began to have vogue during the seventh decade of the last century. Very shortly thereafter the development of disease-control instrumentalities started with real vigor. Food and meat inspection was begun by the city government of Detroit in 1879. Two years later records of vital statistics were inaugurated so that the results of the fight against the various diseases could be known. The pest-house period gave way to a modern contagious disease hospital in 1885, and honest-to-goodness quarantine of contagious diseases emerges in 1887. Milk inspection and a bacteriology laboratory in 1893, an official city attack on tuberculosis in 1905, a similar assault on venereal disease in 1906 and a serology laboratory in 1915 are some of the activities assumed by the Detroit city government, following the knowledge of germs and what they do to the human body.

At the turn of the century ideas of disease prevention became more and more prominent. Detroit starts medical inspection of school children in 1902. Public health and school nurses join the army of city employes in 1908. Midwives are put under control in 1915; and health education creeps into a permanent niche in the city government in 1920.

I do not use Detroit because that city is different from others, but rather because it is typical, and because authentic and specific information regarding its development along these lines is available. The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has unfolded the growth and made public the dates upon which the various accretions to the government of that city took place in the last century.

Everywhere vital needs of the people grow out of changing economic and social conditions. Once again these things are reflected in the growth of government. If your grandfather had made a speech in 1865 predicting that during the lives of his depraved grandchildren city government would pay out of taxes for highly organized recreation departments to promote and supervise play, the neighbors would have shaken their heads, tapped their foreheads and felt sorry for him. The Klan of the period might even have warmed some tar and opened up a feather-bed in preparation for contingencies. Yet the industrial, mechanical and transportation developments between the Civil and Spanish-American Wars enabled us to produce and distribute ample consumption goods in a shorter workday than heretofore. Leisure for the masses was beginning to emerge and has of course increased steadily since. Accompanying the growth of this leisure was a demand against government to furnish recreation facilities.

In 1894 the comely shapes of Detroit's youths began to be disported on municipally owned bathing beaches. In 1898 the musically inclined began listening to municipal band concerts. In 1903 those who had a suppressed desire to fish might sublimate their wishes by gazing at various kinds of well-groomed aquatic specimens bubbling through the glass of a municipal aquarium. Public playgrounds made their bow in 1904, and by 1915 a well organized recreation department was part and parcel of the city government. Seven years later the devotees of the famous Scotch game had edged the taxpayers into the acquisition of a string of municipal golf courses equal to the average private links. From the late nineties to the present the municipality of Detroit has assumed one activity in public recreation after another until today there are nineteen such, operated out of public funds.

From the day of its organization in 1906 the National Recreation Association has advocated provision for community recreation under public auspices and public support. Year after year the returns of its yearbook show more and more government participation in recreational service. In 1928 three fifths of all the work recorded was supported exclusively from public funds while government shared the cost of another fifth.

New knowledge and changing conditions have been the primary urges driving people on to insist that their government assume these new duties. The growth of wealth has been the means that enabled them to realize these desires. Obviously government services, like other purchasable commodities, are limited by available purchase money. The present generation is just beginning to realize that simple truth. During the previous years of its existence our generation has seen a steadily mounting volume of wealth, or at any rate the appearance of such an increasing volume. Extraction of the tax dollar from the citizen's pocketbook for municipal, state and federal (*Continued on page* 47)

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Rural Municipalities of Tomorrow

By HOWARD P. JONES

PLAY the "inquiring reporter." Stop at random ten persons on the crowded streets of any of our cities, and ask what the county coroner does to earn his salary, or of what use is the sheriff. The chances are they will look at you blankly. Or signal a policeman. Or just laugh.

Should you be successful in getting serious answers to your questions, you will discover that the only conception, if any, that these people have of a coroner is a vague idea that he has some investigating to do when somebody is murdered. They have read a detective story or two, you see. And the sheriff—well, they know all about the sheriff. He makes arrests. He keeps order. But if you inquire, "Why have a sheriff when we have a good police force?" the blank look will return, shoulders will shrug, and feet will move on.

But go out on a country road, and try the same experiment on the first ten farmers you see. They will know what the coroner does, and all about the sheriff, and the odds are heavy that you will hear some picturesque cussing about high taxes and "that court-house crowd."

For while the fifty million people who live in cities these days have no idea what county government does for them the twenty-seven million farmers know what they are getting from the government, they know what they are paying to that government, and the two items don't balance worth a whoop.

County government is a relic of pioneer days, of an agricultural civilization which wanted to govern itself, of a period when communal wants were few and the most important of these was protection.

It was particularly true in this stagecoach era that the state as such was too big an area for governmental purposes. It had to be chopped up. And it was chopped up in various ways. Judicial districts were marked down on the map, to facilitate the administration of justice. Representative districts were carved out, for the purpose of selecting legislators and congressmen. And the state was neatly sliced into counties and townships for the purpose of local self-government.

Cities then were few and far between, and the problem of local self-government was largely a matter of maintaining some semblance of law and order over large territories which included scattered farms that had been snatched from the wilderness, the cabins of hunters and trappers, and roaming bands of Indians.

Now cities have crowded into the picture so that a map of the United States looks as though it had the measles. The likeness is strangely appropriate. Local government in truth has as bad a case of the measles as is likely to be seen anywhere. Unfortunately, there are no quarantine laws in effect! As a consequence, the malady has spread throughout the land. And, though seldom fatal, it is decidedly annoying.

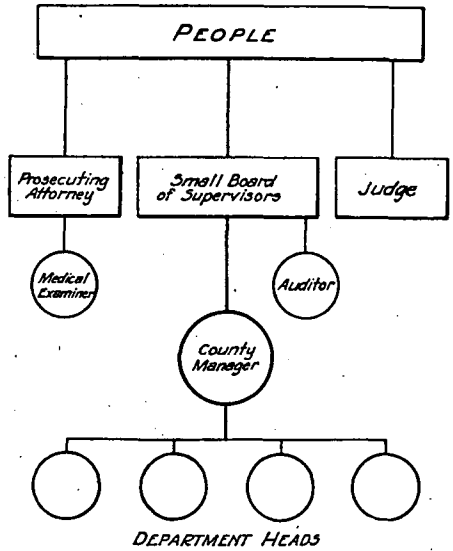
It would seem logical that when a city suddenly popped up in the midst of a county, chose its own officers and had its own government, the jurisdiction of county officials over the area of that city would cease. Not so. We simply have two sets of officers side by side, each endowed with authority to govern. This is true, that is, in every state except Virginia, where state law specifies that the newly incorporated city is no longer a part of the county.

THE natural assumption is that this arrangement would lead to trouble. It does, but not to the kind of trouble that you would expect. As a rule the two sets of officials get along fairly well together, for the reason that they both are sleeping in the same political bed. The trouble is the taxpayer's rather than the officeholder's, for, although he seldom appreciates the fact, he is paying for double government.

In the year 1929-1930 Wayne County was operating on a budget of more than twenty-eight million dollars (exclusive of Detroit's budget), and planning for an expenditure of eighty million dollars over a period of years for sewage disposal. Wayne County is exceptional only in the size of its budget. Similar conditions are found in the suburban areas of every rapidly growing city in the United States. They are found on a small scale in every county in the land save those that still remain completely agricultural or where the population has changed little since the coming of the original settlers.

In 1913 the average per capita governmental cost payments for counties was $4.40. Sectionally, New England, with an average per capita cost of $1.06, was the lowest, and the Pacific states, with an average of $15.45 per capita, the highest. No states outside New England had per capita costs for county government of less than $2. The states having costs of less than $3 (besides the New England States) were Illinois, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Arkansas. Pennsylvania was just above with per capita costs of $3.06 The five states having highest costs were Oregon, $10.83; Arizona, $11.78; Montana, $15.64; Nevada, $17.18; and California, $20.67.

Compare this if you will with the per capita cost of your county government today. It is going up, up, up. From 1918 to 1927 expenditures on highways (*Continued on page 57*)



Courtesy National Municipal League

A model County Government

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Why Municipal Research?

By LUTHER GULICK

THE City Hall reporter of The Daily Telegraph at the city budget hearing wrote: "Same old stuff. 1931 budget $3,145,572; 1930, $3,000,740. Tax rate goes up six points. Largest increase for schools and police. Fifteen taxpayers at hearing including chamber of commerce secretary. Mayor J. says 'we have cut this budget to the bone. The increases are mandatory. This administration promised you cut rate prices on A. Number One service. This is it.' The chamber of commerce secretary demands more police, and reductions in other general expenses, especially schools. He says 'this budget should be cut 10 per cent for efficiency, 10 per cent for economy and 10 per cent for general welfare. This is no time for increases.' Mayor J. asks, 'Just what will you cut?' Answer: 'Why not omit private chauffeur for the mayor and the automobile for the health nurse.'"

At this point the reporter jammed his notes and his soft-leaded pencil into his pocket and rushed out to put the story in shape and make the late afternoon edition.

If we may judge by ninety-nine out of a hundred actual cases of municipal experience, it is safe to say that this budget meeting continues and ends without the city officials telling the truth about the situation, without the citizens knowing where the city is headed, and without the newspapers finding out or publishing a single significant fact.

No one rises to ask about the revenue estimates which are usually inaccurate and sometimes dishonest. No one rises to show that tax payments are lagging more and more from year to year, that the tax rate as fixed will not produce the amount assumed but will fall short and add to the growing deficit. No one rises to show that the budget contains methods of subtle planning for the manipulation of sinking funds. No one finds out that salary increases for high officials are buried away in unassigned items. No one demonstrates that the appropriations for child welfare and poor relief have been cut below the expenditures of the last years despite the known increase in requirements,—a situation which will ultimately demand deficiency appropriations and result in more deficits.

As Walter Lippmann says, every city ought to have "a well financed independent fact-finding agency for studying municipal questions. The fact-finding agency is fundamental and necessary because without it independent opinion lacks the material for solid judgment. . . ."

Why municipal research? Because, first, the public is too busy with private affairs to watch their public business. Even the secretary of the chamber of commerce and his committee on the budget met only for two hours, most of which time was spent in discussing other matters, in preparing their criticism of the appropriations and in developing their great constructive program of budget reduction—10 per cent for efficiency, 10 per cent for economy and 10 per cent for general welfare. No wonder the only extravagance they discovered was a chauffeur for the mayor and a Ford roadster for the health nurse whose work they know nothing whatever about.

Second, because public business is too complicated and too technical for the people to watch unless they are willing to devote continuous time to the work and thus become experts themselves in the affairs of the city.

THIRD, because of the inadequacy of newspapers to deal with public business. Reporters and editors are experts in news value. They deal with matters brought to the surface by others. But only in the rarest cases can they dig into a municipal budget, or a comptroller's report, or the report of the health department, or into the operation of any of the other manifold governmental services and produce a thoroughgoing, constructive criticism of the plans or work of the city. If someone else will do that job, they are well qualified to publish the suggestions and criticisms and to focus attention on the high spots. But they are too busy, their knowledge is too general in character, and sometimes they themselves are too much involved personally in the local backscratching system to enable them to take upon themselves the functions involved in a program of municipal research.

Fourth, because public officials are too immersed in details to look at their own work broadly and impartially in relation to other governmental activities or to find out what other officials in other cities are doing to solve problems similar to those they are facing.

A man who is buried in details loses the chance to think, to analyze and to create.

Suppose that the mayor and the commissioner of finance know that the city is drifting each year nearer to bankruptcy. Do they have time to analyze the situation so that they can redirect the general course of the city government, replan its work, reorganize its activities to meet the changing conditions? Are they not rather driven from morning until night by contractors, favor-seekers, civic associations,

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The municipal research movement has developed as a link between the uninformed citizen and his government. Since the establishment of the first bureau of municipal research in New York in 1906, the movement has spread until there are now almost a hundred research bureaus sprinkled throughout the country, including such agencies in Philadelphia, Buffalo, Rochester, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Paul, Des Moines, Duluth, San Francisco and Los Angeles —to mention but a few of the larger cities from the east to the west coast. Staffed by experts, these bureaus are the shock troops in the assault of the technicians on bad government, collecting facts concerning governmental operations and making recommendations for improvement.

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politicians, church societies and racketeers? And after all their political horizon is the next election by which time they hope that they may be translated to other tasks and that other officials will have to dig the cyclone cellars for the whirlwinds they are sowing.

Fifth, because American government is all brakes and no central motive power. All through our system of government we have trusted exclusively to automatic checks and balances.

In the local units of government we go even further and set up two or three local governments in the same area to take charge of different kinds of activities even where these activities overlap. With such a system it is easy to slow down, to stop; it is hard to start, to keep going; it is hard to arrive. If an airplane were built on the principles of American government it would never be able to leave the ground.

Sixth, because facts in and of themselves contain the solution of ordinary governmental problems. When it is known that the water supply will be exhausted in 135 days on the basis of present consumption, present population, normal seasonal rainfall and the present amount on hand in reservoirs, the community will immediately accept a rationing system which would otherwise be the subject of political, racial and religious controversy.

OF course not all problems can be solved through the bringing together of easily available facts. It is remarkable however what a large part ignorance plays in personal differences of opinion.

The original Bureau of Municipal Research established a quarter of a century ago here in New York City by R. Fulton Cutting and others, recognized precisely the factors just reviewed.

Darling in the New York Tribune

And the chaperones are under the trees, sound asleep

Darling in the New York Tribune

Don't start out and have to come back for a lantern

This research bureau was from the first a thoroughly nonpartisan organization maintaining a full-time staff of trained men who devoted all their energies to the intimate study of governmental processes. It was the object of the organization in this way to deal intimately with the facts of public administration, of finance and of administrative policy so that the public might be informed on these matters in spite of their technical character and in spite of the preoccupations of the citizens.

FROM the first it was the policy of the research bureaus to assist the newspapers in discharging their function of public education on civic affairs and to furnish them the more important results of research inquiry. Through the intimate contact of research staff members with public officials, opportunities were opened up through which public officials have been given information on comparative administration from other jurisdictions and the benefits of expert outside analysis and thinking on the problems of the department.

Besides this the bureaus have served also to foment and institutionalize large programs and central planning in such a way as to give a much needed central unity to the governmental program.

Why then municipal research? Because, as James Madison said, "A popular government without popular information or a means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy."

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From History's Rag-Bag

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

I SLEPT the other night in the crater of an active volcano. In the only place where as little as two hundred feet of anchor-chain would hold the ship, the anchor bit upon what must have been a pinnacle of lava. Under the bow the lead found bottom at twenty fathoms; under the stern twenty-five; a ship's-length ahead or astern—"no bottom." Forward or aft you could pitch a stone in any direction into water anywhere from one thousand to twenty-five hundred feet deep. When the lead came up the last time it brought up a lump of porous gray cinder (pumice) as big as your head.

Yes, I mean active; not today or yesterday, but there is no guarantee against tomorrow, or for that matter any hour hence. That black island of bare lava a pistol-shot abeam was spewed up in the last eruption only two years ago; beyond and over it towers and glowers the "new crater," streaked and smudged with smoke-ash like the muzzle of a new-fired gun. But for the stiff northwest breeze that had brought us under full sail over the seventy miles from Crete we should have been driven out by the strangling sulphurous eructations from that foul esophagus. On the other hand, the little gray island just beyond is old, relatively. The Greek pilot who led us to the only possible anchorage said to me, putting a gnarled brown thumb down upon the chart:

"This one is make one hundred twenty-three years before God"—devoutly crossing himself at the Name.

Island of Santorin (St. Irene is said to have been martyred there). Known also as Thera, after the Spartan who colonized it; or Kalliste, "the Beautiful." Southernmost of the Cyclades in the Aegean Sea. Ages ago it was a commonplace volcano-cone, sloping properly on all sides from sea to crater-apex. Earlier still it must have been an outstanding peak in the mountain-system on the land bridge connecting Greece with Asia Minor. Upon some awful day the sea broke in and the volcano blew its head off. Now, instead of a proper cone there is a vast gulf, a cliff-girt lake some five miles by three, of the wondrous blue, blue Mediterranean water, with today's grim shrunken crater-head lifted menacing some three or four hundred feet high in the middle. And today's ships steam or sail through, as ours did, on their devious ways among the islands that Odysseus knew, and Paul, formerly of Tarsus. A few hours' steaming eastward from Santorin would bring you to Rhodes, where the Colossus of old straddled the harbor, or to John's Patmos of the Apocalypse.

Around the rim of this uncanny gulf, on the cliff-edge eight hundred to one thousand feet above the water, cling dizzily cities, dazzling ivory-white against the sky. In spots they overhang and dribble down, like snow and icicles over the edge of a roof. On this side they face the abyss; on the other they look down seaward over the old slopes, checkered with cultivated fields and vineyards. On the inside, one climbs zig-zag on foot or donkey-back from the tiny *marina* cluster of harbor buildings on a natural shelf at water-level, hundreds of feet up to the perching cities.

HERE is an ancient note-book of history, cosmic and human. Along the cliff-face, in twisting, tortured striation, here thick, there thin, in great bands and blotches black, brown, green, ochre, lemon-yellow and white; lava, scoriae, gypsum, selenite—I dare say alabaster—where sulphur and lime boiled and seethed out of the molten hell below; so lies seriatim the record of nature's fearful doings in and since an unimaginable past. Altogether it is a gruesome and sinister place, even under the fleckless blue sky and summer sun; at night, under the moon, in the gray dawn, it is almost unendurable. The only thing comparable that I have seen of nature's unbelievable grotesqueries is the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Yet the ancients called this place Kalliste, the Beautiful, and at this moment some 15,000 people live there. The Mediterranean Pilot says "they are much attached to their volcanic island." Attached is right: most of the houses throughout the island are at least partly excavated in the porous rock; at practicable places up and down the cliff are caves and shelvings made or utilized as dwellings since time immemorial; some with fine constructed facades and supporting columns; others mere holes, with tortuous trails leading up and down. The very soil is the gift of the volcano. Of decomposed pumice and tufa, it is fertile and easily cultivated; corn and cotton and grape-vines grow readily. Down the cliff-face slide streams of the white gypsum, to be gathered up at the bottom and shipped away, one of Santorin's chief exports, to places where it can be separated into lime and sulphur. This lime business, by the way, represents a sad factor in the puzzle of the archaeologist in Greece and Italy. It explains the disappearance of many great treasures of Greek and Roman sculpture. The head of that priceless Hermes that we saw a few days ago at Olympia, broken up and burned, would make as good mortar as any other lump of marble. There are to this day in the Forum at Rome traces of at least four lime-kilns. What precious things of Praxiteles and Phidias must have gone into crevices to keep the wind away! So do the natural and human records interweave.

Mycenean (minoan?) decorations on golden ornaments in the museum at Athens

WE came up to Santorin from Crete, where we had seen the ruins and restorations by Sir Arthur Evans, at Knossos, three miles back from the port of Candia. There and at other

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places in Crete have been uncovered remains of at least three great periods of civilization, which over a stretch of time beginning any-when you like (Evans calls it about 10,000 B. C.) and ending about 1200 had begun, flowered and died before Greece was anything but huddles of barbaric huts. We saw in those ruins still practicable tile pipe, bath-tubs in good condition, and the remains of drainage systems. We saw vestiges of the literature that thrived there; writings on stone and clay tablets which nobody yet has been able to decipher. When that record can be read, we shall know more than we do now about where Greece got what she had and was in the classic days about which we have been taught so much and so erroneously. These things were longer before Pericles and the "golden age of Athens" than Pericles was before ourselves. Up to a little while ago it was piously believed that beauty, truth and art were invented in Greece, or sprang full-orbed by some divine fiat or magic on some fine afternoon in Athens. Only lately has it begun to be realized that even the flower of Greek art must have had a stem to grow on, and roots; that in a time parallel with or even antedating early Egypt, before Moses lay among the bulrushes of the Nile, Crete was mistress of the seas—"the England of antiquity." Yesterday we were at Mycenae, and Homer's "wall-girt Tiryns," and saw the vestiges of structures surely Cretan in their origin and type.

Once in a bazaar in Egypt I bought the finest flint arrow-head I ever saw; it was picked up, as many others have been, in the desert sand outside Luxor. Memorandum of the Late Stone Age. I did not know it then, because nobody did at that time—it was uncovered in the following year—that among the Pyramids I had stood on sand covering what may have been the first building of cut stone in the history of the world. Constructed of just such cyclopean quarried blocks as we saw in the vast walls surrounding that hill-top at Mycenae, and at Tiryns. And built perhaps in times not so very far between.

Next in the historic sequence came bronze, made from copper. I was told at Santorin that in that and neighboring islands copper was first used. The great "Double-Axe" which was the chief religious symbol of the Minoans of Crete was made from copper; you may see at least three of them in the museum at Candia. Well, if three thousand years before Christ this volcanic Santorin was an early copper source, one would expect to find the Minoans there. We sailed the distance direct in a few hours. And so they were. In the museum on that crater's rim at Thera are treasured only things found on the island. There are Roman glass, Greek statuary, Phoenician vestiges, and pottery as clearly of Minoan origin as anything dug up in Crete. And one of the earthquakes uncovered a very early Minoan city, buried under the ashes of an eruption which must have taken place full five thousand years ago. On the pottery found there are designs strikingly suggestive of our own Pueblos and Navajos, and others that would turn a modernist decorator green with envy. The "Swastika" is there too—oldest good-luck symbol in the world.

IT hardly exists any more, but those of the older generation will know what I mean by the "family rag-bag" that used to be in every thrifty home; into which went all the strips and scraps of cloth, leavings of the household dress-making and tailoring. Grandmother's old apron that formerly was her own mother's, bits from the making of Mother's wedding-dress and Willie's first long pants; fragments of old ribbon and lace, vestiges of clothing since the household began, and of households preceding. From that *omnium gatherum* one might deduce almost the entire history of the family, male and female. From the texture, workmanship, colors, designs, you might divine who spun, wove and dyed, who cut, stitched, buttonholed, embroidered. From the pattern and fashion you might fix dates and places. It might be that from the design and stitching of embroidery or lace you could infer even the racial origin of the maker. There would be perhaps persistent *motifs* in decoration, about which you could learn nothing except that they "came down in the family." Here is a long story; I can only hint at the boundless field for study and speculation. My traveling comrade has made it rather her business in every country where we have tarried—in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia—to pick up the indigenous technique and style of lace-making. Why do they differ, so that at a glance the practiced eye can identify the peculiarities of stitch, of pattern? Is there something peculiar to atmosphere, soil, finger-skill of one country to make its handiwork distinct from that of another? In Prague, two years ago during the great celebration of the millennium of Good King Wenceslas, a well-versed Czechoslovak friend identified women from particular villages by the pattern of embroidery on their bodices and jackets and aprons. It is more or less so all over Central Europe. How originated, what perpetuates, those patterns? I do not know the answer; but Dr. S. Harmstead Chubb, associate curator of comparative anatomy in the American Museum of Natural History, says in a recent issue of the journal of the museum:

A bit of local patchwork from Ragusa uses the Crusaders cross in its design

> This conservatism in adhering to local styles defines a tribe and its movements, while stray pieces [he is speaking especially of pottery] from other localities indicate trade relationships. . . . Temples and pyramids may be arranged in chronological series by the potsherds found in the adjacent debris.

You do not see those costumes now so much as formerly. Just now in Montenegro I was told that they cannot afford to wear or even to make them any more. Mostly they appear only on Sundays and festal occasions. But in every house they are there, many of them handed down from a long past; treasured as heir-looms.

IN Ragusa of Dalmatia (Jugoslavia now) I picked up a bit of local patchwork, about two feet square, made evidently from scraps of women's dresses. The fragments must be very old; these people do not sacrifice their ancient needlepoint for patchwork while stitches hold. Not until afterward did I notice the row of lozenges each bearing a cross, such as the Crusaders wore upon their shields. This might mean anything or nothing—crosses are common enough in decoration all over the world. Had I got this anywhere else these would have suggested no story. But it was at Zara, only a little further up the Dalmatian Coast, that the Fourth Crusade was hung up for a year or more, while under its bargain with the Venetians, it pillaged and looted for the wherewithal to continue its pious raid into the East. The Crusaders were all over the place. And here is one of their crosses, in the ancient local embroidery. There were in the collection from which I selected this one, the Turkish (*Continued on page* 63)

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays, and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Seeing Russia

THE Soviet Union is going on with its gigantic experiment, and one can hardly expect to find anything strikingly new in the multitude of books on Russia that continue to flood the market. The scale of the experiment, and the dimensions of the laboratory in which it is taking place, command watchful waiting and suspended judgement on our part, rather than impatient conclusions. Recent books on the subject, when written by competent observers, resemble bulletins issued about a woman in travail and the phases she is going through before the climatic delivery. As to the books of a subjective, impressionistic hue, their interest lies more often than not in the variety of personal attitudes they display, rather than in what they may contribute to our knowledge of the subject. It must be said that contemporary Russian fiction is best suited for conveying to us the spirit in which the breakdown of the old and the birth of the new affect life in the USSR.

VOLGA FALLS TO THE CASPIAN SEA, *by Boris Pilnyak. Translated by Charles Malamuth. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. 353 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
HIDDEN SPRINGS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, *by Katerina Breshkovskaia. Edited by Lincoln Hutchinson. Stanford University Press. 369 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
100 RED DAYS, *by Edgar Sisson. Yale University Press. 502 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
UNDERWORLD AND SOVIET, *by Vladimir Orloff. Dial Press. 274 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
SEEING RED, *by Eve Garrette Grady. Brewer, Warren & Putnam. 307 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE RED FOG LIFTS, *by Albert Muldavin. Appleton. 311 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE SOVIETS CONQUER WHEAT, *by Anna Louise Strong. Henry Holt. 288 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
RED VILLAGES, *by Y. A. Yakovlev. International. 128 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE SUCCESS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN, *by V. M. Molotov. International. 77 pp. Price $1.25 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE SOVIET PLANNED ECONOMIC ORDER, *by William Henry Chamberlin. World Peace Foundation. 258 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

Pilnyak's novel, for example, is abundantly suggestive of both the destructive and constructive sides of the Russian experiment. As usual, Pilnyak's style suits the subject matter. As complex as an intricate rug pattern, labored at times, monotonous in deliberate and emphatic repetition and refrain, naive and precious in turn, alternatingly swift and lagging, the structure and diction as well as the material reflect present day Russia. We are shown a country in transition. The efforts of the new order at the annihilation of the old are epitomized in the engineering task of reverting the flow of the ancient Volga and its tributaries. The new order generates new men and women, with a new psychology and an untraditional code of morals. Obviously sympathetic toward the new, Pilnyak is sensitive to the drama of the passing generation, whose cherished institutions and sentiments are ruthlessly swept away by the reverted current of life. What his novel tells, and the way this is told, tend to bring to the reader the rare gift of understanding the many-sidedness of the Russian ordeal.

THE old passing Russia finds noble and pathetic expression in the memoirs of Katerina Breshkovskaia. The eighty-eight-year-old heroic woman surveys her long life, and makes clear to us the tragedy of the Russian intelligentsia. These forerunners and champions of the Revolution were imbued with enthusiasm and unreserved altruism *on the eve* of the great event, but found themselves peeved and disenchanted *the morning after*. The Grandmother of the Russian Revolution proved generations behind her grandchildren. How much out of tune she was with the changed conditions is incidentally illustrated by Mr. Sisson in his piously myopic account of the early Bolshevik régime. This babe in the woods, who was handed a gold brick in the shape of "documents" and who is still simple enough to reprint them in his book, unwittingly blurts out many a secret from Wilson-Creel's propaganda bag. We now need not doubt any longer that the Grandmother was given a considerable sum of American money for the organization of anti-Bolshevik sentiment: Mr. Sisson confirms the fact, though he unctiously disapproves of it. Mr. Sisson, by the way, modestly claims, if not the authorship of the Fourteen Points, at any rate the incentive which prompted President Wilson to issue that bait, to be "fed" by Mr. Sisson both to Russia and Germany in the precise amount of 3,463,000 copies in Russia and one million copies in Germany. It is not sheer accident that the book of this would-be Sherlock Holmes contains some canards that are duplicated in the opus of a White Russian sleuth, the unscrupulous Vladimir Orloff.

AN entertaining volume could be written on Americans in USSR. The Soviet press does occasionally print excerpts from American impressions of Russia, for the hilarious amusement of their readers, overfed on serious issues. Mrs. Grady's account, Seeing Red, will beyond doubt help to relieve the gravity of the Pyatiletka stress and strain in the Soviet Union. This out-of-sorts wife of an American engineer whom the Bolsheviks refused to reemploy, solemnly predicts that "the moment her book appears upon the bookstands, Bolshevik agents in America and England will apprise Moscow of its contents." Assuredly. The grim Soviet citizens will wake up one morning to read in their *Pravda* or *Izvestia* delicious tidbits from Mrs. Grady's burlesquerie, such as her alleged Russian phrases, or the definition of Kulaks as "independent farmers who refuse to join the collective farms, and are being driven into exile to Siberia," or her lacrimose descriptions of "gently born" men and women, or such historical statements as: "It was Russian mud, you recall, that defeated Napoleon," or that "Russians are frightful thieves." What a treat to their sense of humor the author's admission that by the side of a thinly clad Soviet "pretty little creature" she "felt like a great, overstuffed pig," or her final appeal to the craving of an American audience "for hot cakes drowned in maple syrup, or a succulent, three-inch, juicy steak, with French fried potatoes!"

Mr. Muldavin, also American, a denizen of Wall Street,

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took with him to Russia, beside a respectable bank account, a philosophical urbanity and some knowledge of the Russian language. His observations are humorously engaging and at the same time extremely instructive. A capitalist of clear and broad vision, Mr. Muldavin speaks with authority when he addresses his own class in these words:

Russia is not a menace. She is a warning. She is a warning to old Europe with its political intrigues and national prejudices. She is a warning to self-centered Americans who live in the fool's paradise of unquestioning traditions. She is a warning to the entire world that many of its long cherished principles must today stand the crucial test of economic change.

Anna Louise Strong belongs to the handful of American idealists who have not hesitated to forego hot cakes drowned in syrup and juicy steaks for the exhilarating adventure of taking part in the transformation of one seventh of the globe peopled by more than 150,000,000. Vigorous and indefatigable, Dr. Strong has been not only a close observer of the Russian experiment but also an active participator. Her latest book, on "the drama of collective farming," is a vivid record of her trips to the remotest corners of the Union. I do not know, even in the Russian language, of a more penetrating, graphic, and suggestive account of the epochal revolutionization of the Russian village. After reading Dr. Strong's book, one has no difficulty in visualizing the sweeping change in the economics and psychology of four fifths of Russia's population, a change which in other accounts, however reliable, seems incredibly fantastic.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S book should be read in conjunction with Red Village, a speech by Commissar of Agriculture Yakovlev, which she translated. Yakovlev uses dry figures of an import that is not confined to Russia. The mechanization of agriculture—"metal and oil, instead of the human sweat hymned by the poets"—appears as inevitable in the near future as the industrial revolution was more than a century ago. Yakovlev devotes much space to a comparison between the United States and the Soviet Union:

America has a million tractors; we have only seventy thousand. America has hundreds of thousands of harvester-combines; we have fifteen hundred. America has hundreds of thousands of trucks; we had so few that we had to mobilize all the trucks in the land to help the Grain Trust unload its combines. Yet in America the greatest technical revolution in the history of mankind's methods of farming calls forth instead of the prosperity of farming, its decay! In an entire decade, with a million tractors, its sown area increases by a mere ten million acres, while its farmers, increasingly beggared, are urged to reduce their sowing.

The differences are patent. In America, according to Yakovlev, only one fifth of the farmers can afford tractors, and these work on the average four hundred to six hundred hours per year, while in Russia the state owned tractors average twenty-five hundred hours a year. The Commissar does not boast. He enumerates a startling list of shortcomings and errors in the process of collectivization, and calls for more ambitious plans of endless progress. Self-criticism is one of the strongest points in the Bolshevik platform. Molotov, Chairman of the Commissars, in his March report before the All-Union Soviet Congress, does not conceal the weaknesses and blunders of the moment. His speech, reprinted in English as The Success of the Five-Year Plan, is a masterly survey of Russia's internal and international situation toward the spring of 1931, with definitive statements concerning the Dumping and Forced Labor myths.

CHAMBERLIN'S analysis of the economic order in the USSR is thus far the finest book on the list of the World Peace Foundation studies. Chamberlin is more objective than Anna Louise Strong, because he does not profess her warm and dynamic sympathy. The reader will find his study terse and comprehensive, clearly outlining the history of the Five-Year Plan and its workings, and containing a number of valuable documents connected with the Plan.

Seeing Russia through various eyes, one comes to the inevitable conclusion that despite terrific hardships and numerous mistakes, the new order is forging ahead with determination and a certain success. The speed (*Continued on page* 44)

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(*Continued from page* 43) with which the collectivization of the farms is proceeding is astonishing to any one who has known the stolid and stagnant Russian peasant. One wonders whether this celerity is due as much to the aggressive idealism of the vanguard as to the wonted docility of the rear.

Berkeley, Calif. ALEXANDER KAUN

Things That Matter in Mexico

MEXICO, *by Stuart Chase. Macmillan. 338 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

"*NI TLACA*" (We are also human) the Indians have been saying to us for four hundred years. To a land where the pre-European culture still survives on this continent went Stuart Chase, economist and practical dreamer. The book he brought back—Mexico—will be, I believe, a permanent reference book for students of culture, economics, customs and psychology of living. It is necessary to have been in Mexico to realize fully the truth of his descriptions and the value of his findings.

Mr. Chase makes the background of his picture of Mexico of such beauty that one actually feels and sees "the waves of lavendar that rise to higher and familiar mountain tops; the opal haze that envelops Cuernavaca—the sculptured chasms," the decaying temples "decaying with such charm," which have defied man's brush and pigments. He speaks of Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl as the volcanoes "*who* stand hand in hand." They seem truly human and one almost feels with him the coldness of that grasp which was so formidable to the Conqueror. Against this background of beauty and understanding Mr. Chase begins to build his Mexico. His first chapters deal with the terraced pyramids, greater than those of Cheops, on whose summit is an altar with the unexplained date 1502. One begins to wonder at the Mayan culture, the greatest ever developed in the Western Hemisphere, which was followed

A drawing by Diego Rivera for Mexico: A study of two Americas, by Stuart Chase

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by that of the invading Toltecs. Then came another invader, the Aztec, exponent of "experimental democracy." The Aztecs excelled in the minor arts—weaving, metal work and so on. Their "knowledge of medicinal herbs was profound; they honored women and loved flowers." What higher form of civilization have we to offer? It is of interest to note how similar are the customs of the Aztec to those of the descendants of the Conquerors of the Southwest. Many of them are even now practicing these same arts, with perhaps improved implements, but not so skilled in workmanship. Tenaciously the Indians have held to their crafts with the wheels now revolving rather laboriously in an effort to regain the skill which was productive of such beauty. "Hold to your handicraft and the psychology of your crafts, watch them jealously in the face of ignorant tourists and exporters. When they debase the work of your hand they debase you." This, Mr. Chase's advice, should be considered not only by Mexico, but by all peoples whose art is a living symbol of their spirit.

It is well for all Americans to read this book; to feel its charm, realize its value; to imbibe its beauty and then, like the Indian, we might say of ourselves, after all, *Ni tlaca,* "we are also human"!

ADELINA OTERO
Santa Fe, N. M.

She Would Be Heard

MY FIGHT FOR BIRTH CONTROL, *by Margaret Sanger. Farrar & Rinehart. 365 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IT was in 1912, less than twenty years ago, that Margaret Sanger decided that "my work as a nurse and my activities in social service were entirely palliative and consequently futile and useless to relieve the misery I saw all about me." That misery was the crowding and poverty of New York's lower East Side, where day after day she cared for women as they brought into the world babies for whose upbringing they had neither money nor strength. Her patients asked her how to keep from having babies, and she did not know what to tell them. That spring one of these mothers died, having risked her life—and lost it—to avoid a fourth child whom she could not afford. When Mrs. Sanger heard of her death she walked the streets all night, carrying her nursing bag. By morning she had decided that she would never take another case. Her job would be not to care for these women, but to make it possible for them to prevent the disaster of unwanted children.

This book is the story of the movement that has grown out of that resolve instigated and propelled in great part by a small quiet woman who had resolved that she *would be heard.* During those years Margaret Sanger studied in the great libraries and the clinics of Europe and made friends with men like Havelock Ellis, whose names were known the world over. She learned, by doing it, public speaking and writing and addressed literally millions of people. Her correspondence each year counted letters by the tens of thousands. Her work carried her around the world, and it brought her also, as defendant, into New York's police courts and prisons. Her very name became a symbol of freedom to the people she struggled to aid, of obscenity to her opponents. The appendix to this book lists as of this year more than fifty clinics in the United States where contraceptive advice is given within the laws of the states, and quotes the endorsement of birth control in the recent report of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the recommendations of the New York Academy of Medicine. What was considered unspeakable or even unthinkable when Margaret Sanger started out twenty years ago has become an accepted topic of religious and social discussion; a recognized branch of medical service.

It is both interesting and impressive to have here set down in logical sequence the story of events which so often have been garbled by hearsay or hasty journalism. Even more interesting, however, are the early chapters in which Mrs. Sanger sketches the stories that the newspapers have not told. Sixth of the eleven children of a stone-cutter in Corning, N. Y., the young Margaret had pondered as long as she could remember the difference between the families on the hill, with pretty mothers and few, happy, self-confident children, and the factory families on the flats where children were a burden and parents cross and old before their time. (*Continued on page* 46)

CITY BOSSES *in the* UNITED STATES *by* Harold A. Zink

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CHAPEL HILL

(*Continued from page* 45) Margaret Sanger's own mother died of tuberculosis at forty-eight. Through all the minor and serious illnesses of the family, typhoid, pneumonia, erysipelas, mumps, measles and the like, and at the birth of each of the eleven babies the father gave the only doctoring they ever had.

When her schooling was over Margaret decided to be a nurse, and it was as a nurse that she met and married a young architect, William Sanger. Before her first baby was born, she herself was found to have tuberculosis. The doctors were discouraging, but she resolved she would not die. A six years' struggle brought her back to a health which never has been too certain, but still, by her determination, has enabled her to withstand work and experience which would have broken many a stronger woman. There were two more babies in the remote days when Margaret Sanger was a shy young suburban wife who read papers on Browning at the literary club and found adventure in a day's shopping trip to the city. Then a chapter closed; she turned away from a purely domestic life, went back to nursing and on to the role for which she is known. Fiction could not imagine a bolder plot than that story of fact that Mrs. Sanger tells in this straightforward and reticent book—the story of a young mother without money or influential friends or physical endurance or even, at the start, the requisite educational background, who set out to do the impossible and did it.

MARY ROSS

England's Experience

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN, *by Mary B. Gilson. Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc. 560 pp. Price* $5.00 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS book by Mary Gilson ought to be on the desk of every executive of a social agency, every director of a community chest, every chairman of a committee to deal with unemployment, every legislator and every governor and in every executive office in Washington. And it ought to be read by ordinary citizens like you and me. For here, in the midst of our unemployment disaster, and at a time when unemployment insurance is being extolled as a blessing or denounced as a curse, is a clear straightforward analysis of Great Britain's experience in that field—twenty-eight years of it altogether, during eleven years of which it has been on a scale that brought practically the whole of the nation's industrial workers within its provisions. No other country has had anything like the same variety of experience with this device and therefore no other country has so much to tell the rest of the world as to its real importance and significance.

The most important part of the story as told by Miss Gilson deals with the period since 1920, the year in which for various reasons Great Britain chose to extend the coverage of her unemployment insurance scheme from the four million workers then under its provisions to a number in excess of eleven millions—and this on the eve of the most disastrous period of unemployment the nation had ever experienced. With reserves that were inadequate for such an enlarged area of operation and with many persons who began to receive benefits remaining unemployed for indefinite periods the fund has become, as Miss Gilson puts it, "hopelessly insolvent," and has been able to continue the payment of benefits only through borrowings from the treasury.

It is this period that Miss Gilson has subjected to careful statistical analysis. She shows how two practices arose under the fund: the one, unemployment insurance, because the workers receiving benefits had had an employment experience that resulted in the payment of contributions to the fund commensurate with benefits received, and the other, straight relief, because the beneficiaries had been unemployed so long that such contributions had not been made. By an act of Parliament in 1930 the two have been separated and the unemployment insurance fund is no longer to be responsible for the uninsurable risks.

It is impossible to do justice to the book in this brief review. The whole subject blazes with questions. Is it a "dole"? No, unemployment insurance is not but poor relief is. Does it undermine the stamina of the workers? There is some evidence of it, to a limited degree, but the major contributor to that end is unemployment itself.

Miss Gilson quotes Edwin Cannan as saying that "no one ex-

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cept a few lunatics" suppose that workers prefer unemployment benefits to a job. Does it decrease mobility? Yes, under some circumstances but probably does more to promote it.

Perhaps the most profound impression that one gets from this book is that however great the difficulties, Great Britain is laying the basis for an understanding, intelligent approach to the problem of dealing with the unemployed. Because of her employment exchanges and her insurance she knows what her problem is—how many are unemployed, in what industries, in what localities. She knows what industries are declining and which are expanding. And despite blunders she is raising a fund for the unemployed, not by appeals to philanthropy, or by the medium of voluntary effort, but logically, consistently, fairly and democratically by spreading the burden over the whole population.

If you want to know just what Great Britain's unemployment insurance experience has been, here is the story—told fully, clearly and without bias or heat. JOHN A. FITCH
New York School of Social Work

THE GREATEST SOCIAL WORKER OF ALL

(*Continued from page* 36)

services has met with only shadow resistance. This has not been so true in the rural areas. Agricultural county and township governments have not kept pace with the growth of knowledge or the needs flowing out of changing conditions in the services of health, recreation and education because the quantity of local taxable wealth was so small. Today two serious problems face those who believe their governments should be the great administrator of social welfare. One is to hold the services gained through the years in the face of our shrunken wealth, or what appears as a shrinking of wealth; the other is to reorganize our ideas of taxation so that we may go forward and at the same time supply from the wealthier centers of taxable funds money for common service in the rural regions.

Many people interested in those portions of social welfare generally comprehended under the term social work, have believed that private philanthropy almost invariably initiates a new social service, experiments with it on a broad scale, and if it proves successful eventually secures its incorporation into government. This assumption probably grows out of a desire to prove logical our thoroughly illogical American habit of carrying on the same activity under the auspices of both private philanthropy and of government. The belief runs that government is too inflexible to experiment, that private philanthropy is very plastic in its habits, and that private philanthropy is bigger and more important in this field of welfare. As a matter of fact there is not sufficient evidence to bear out any of these contentions.

After the very early stages of the development on an extremely small scale of education in this country by private resources, the government took hold of education. Note that it did not take over a finished product from experimenters. It took hold of education, and the enormous advance that has been made in the last century in that field has been made almost entirely under the auspices of government with probably an overwhelming portion of the experimentation carried on under governmental control. It is true that miniature demonstrations of the value of night classes and of the use of schoolhouses as community centers, under private auspices, preceded the adoption of these particular ideas by governmental education. It is also true that a good share of the vociferation coming out of the progressive education experimentation of our day arises from the ranks of the privately supported groups rather than from the progressive education in the public schools. But these and similiar demonstrations are swallowed up in the enormous development which has metamorphosed the little red schoolhouse of another day into the giant, complicated common school system that we know.

THE role played by private philanthropy in the field of public health, when placed alongside the role played by government is comparatively insignificant. (*Continued on page* 48)

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(*Continued from page* 47) To be sure local bodies and national societies have given a powerful first impetus to certain special activities, such as the fights on tuberculosis and infant mortality. But these are incidental to the great sweep and scope of the public-health movement that has swept America under official leadership during the last fifty years. It is also true that private funds have contributed some really remarkable demonstrations setting a pace for government to follow later, such as the attack on hookworm, the suppression of yellow fever and the limited number of general health demonstrations made in rural regions. Yet again these are overshadowed by the initiative and drive of the great body of the people as represented by their government in the public health movement.

Many of us are accustomed to think that family relief work has been traditionally in the hands of private societies in America. Perhaps that impression grew up because a few of the eastern cities years ago abandoned their outdoor relief work, turning it over to private agencies. A great deal of advertising accompanied that feat, creating a general impression that the abandonment took place in many more cities than actually was the case. This belief that government carries on a small part of the relief work and private initiative a large part has been due also to the fact that the private agencies, being compelled to raise their own funds, necessarily impress themselves on the public mind by their fund-raising methods; while governmental agencies, not laboring under any such necessity, carry on quietly and without advertising. As a matter of fact, not far from three fourths of all relief work done in the United States is and for some time has been done under the auspices of government, townships and counties in particular. In some cases, even great municipalities have leaned upon the taxpayers as a source of revenue for relief purposes, and upon the machinery of government for administration. Study colonial America and you will find for nearly one hundred and fifty years almost no organized private relief work. You will see a government dominated by Elizabethan traditions of cautious and jealous relief-giving. Study the last twenty years and you will find a generous flow of public relief funds administered by government. Look into the future and you will find great difficulty in discerning any other answer to the relief problem than through government.

In short as we study our social needs and the existing machinery for meeting them, and try to foresee the machinery of the future, one fact stands out. The commonwealth represented by federal, state, county and municipal governments has been, is and undoubtedly will be the great social worker of America. All others are dwarfed. They are insignificant and pigmy. Our great job as citizens is to make this government efficient. It is a difficult job and a painful one, but a possible and an inspiring undertaking.

WHEN CITIZENS UNITE

(*Continued from page* 21)

of the City Charter Committee? No. It was decided that no employe should be discharged because of his politics, that all present office-holders be given a chance to make good under the city manager. The announcement was made that thereafter all vacancies would be filled not by political appointment but by competitive civil-service examination, and that any employe of the city thereafter taking an active part in a political campaign would be discharged.

The old-time machine politicans were delighted at what they considered our colossal mistake. The good citizens who for years had criticized the Old Gang employes disapproved most heartily our failure to clean out the "Augean Stables." The City Charter Committee, on the other hand, felt that to do this would be merely a step toward building a new political machine. We refused to enlist a new army of jobholders, the backbone of a new political machine. But we demobilized the army of the old machine by enforcing the civil-service laws and forbidding participation in political activities to all employes. Thus we destroyed a large part of the power of the old organization. By depriving the City Charter Committee of the power

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of patronage, we prevented the growth of a new machine as a result of the victory.

At the next election in 1927, five of the six Charter councilmen were renominated in addition to three new men and one woman. The results were even better than in the preceding election. Six Charter councilmen were elected while the Republican organization elected two instead of three. The citizens of Cincinnati, men and women, had been kept united and a complete ward and precinct organization of voters had been built up. This sounds much more formidable than it actually was. Individual citizens in the various precincts had simply been persuaded to study the record of the candidates and to talk to their neighbors about them.

THE election of 1928 offered the first opportunity to demonstrate the fallacy of the statement made by the Republican organization leaders that nonpartisanship in city affairs would seriously damage the strength of the local Republican Party in national elections. Although Cincinnati has always been known as a wet town and the wet-and-dry issue was very prominent in the election of 1928, Herbert Hoover received the largest vote ever given in Cincinnati to a Republican candidate for president.

Another year passed. In 1929 the City Charter Committee faced a grave problem. The councilmen had been drafted into service and though willing to serve two terms were unwilling to serve longer. A ticket of nine men was nominated, six of whom had never before run for office and one of whom had been defeated for council in 1927. The Republican organization nominated nine men, eight of whom had formerly held public office and all of whom were known as good vote-getters. A hard campaign, fought on the same lines as the preceding campaign, had the same result, the election of six Charter men and three organization Republicans. The new council selected Russell Wilson as mayor, a worthy successor to Mayor Seasongood.

The first real test of the permanency of the reform in Cincinnati had been the ability to carry on the work successfully after 1929 with practically an entirely new council. In 1930 the city government successfully encountered its second great test—ability to carry on the work with a different city manager, for in the spring of that year Colonel Sherrill, who had wrought such marvels in administrative service resulting in his endorsement by all political parties, resigned as city manager to accept the position of vice-president of the Kroger Grocery and Baking Company. The new council, which had taken office on January 1, was faced with the tremendous problem of selecting his successor. Candidates from all over the United States were interviewed, records examined and skilled executives in administration consulted. Another triumph for citizen organization. Clarence A. Dykstra, whose experience and training combined the academic with the practical, was persuaded to give up his two positions of director of personnel and efficiency of the Los Angeles department of water and power and professor of government at the University of California to come to Cincinnati as city manager. Dr. Dykstra has been city manager since June 11, 1930 and in his conduct of affairs has endeared himself to Cincinnatians and proved himself a worthy successor of Colonel Sherrill.

TESTED in three elections, the City Charter Committee can rightly claim that its method of organization has beyond question demonstrated its efficiency and is worthy of being used as a model for other cities. We have definitely shown that the public is interested in politics, a *sine qua non* of good government. We have shown that men and women will work for the cause of good government without requiring the loaves and fishes of political patronage. We have shown that volunteer workers in ward and precinct are much more effective than paid professional workers. We have maintained women's and men's organizations which work before election and after election. The women's organization has already been described. The men's organization furnishes the witnesses and challengers at the polls on duty from 5:30 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. They do most of the speaking and arrange the various election rallies. They raise the money necessary (*Continued on page* 50)

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(*Continued from page* 49) for the campaigns and the permanent organization.

Altogether the results have been astounding. In 1923 four downtown wards were the real controlling force in local politics; the vote in the outlying residential wards was practically negligible. Since the party emblem has been abolished and jobs are no longer distributed on the basis of work at the polls, the number of votes in the residence section has increased enormously and the vote in the old machine wards has fallen off. In 1929 the vote in Cincinnati was 135,000 against 123,000 in Cleveland, a city nearly twice as large. People vote in Cincinnati because they are interested in their city government.

Cincinnati has obtained material benefits. It has obtained clean and efficient government. Its streets are sanitary and in good repair. More new streets and boulevards have been built in the last six years than in the preceding fifteen years. All this has been done in the face of a constantly decreasing tax-rate, and a reduction in net bonded indebtedness during the six years of city-manager government of $1,500,000.

Greater however than the material accomplishments is the new spirit that has infused itself through the whole community. Our young men now feel that they can take part in politics without compromising their inherent sense of real values. Gang politics no longer dull the idealism of the young men, for to obtain political preferment in Cincinnati it is not necessary to ally oneself with the political gang, to close one's eyes to the combination of vice and politics.

Too long have we in our American cities evaded our responsibility by artificially separating politics and social service. In their fundamental basis politics and social service are identical. Both are efforts to adjust social relations. In all other countries politics covers many phases of the work that in America is conducted separately as social service. We have drawn the fallacious division of secular and sacred between these two activities.

Real interest on the part of the citizens in politics must and will break down the division. In the past, political reform in municipal politics has been ephemeral, because it was usually based upon an appeal to the pocketbook and not to the heart and mind. If the fruit of efficient government is to be merely a reduction in the cost of government, men of ability will continue to be unwilling to pay the price. Such men can make much more money by concentrating on their own affairs and leaving politics to professional politicians. When the motivating appeal is shifted from economy to human service however, men and women who never would have responded to the battle-cry of economy will answer the call and serve without compensation, even at great sacrifice of time and energy.

Cincinnati affords an object lesson. Cincinnati has proved that the way to improve municipal administration is to improve the method of citizen organization. Voters desire good government. Elected officials wish to give the sort of government their constituents desire. In the absence of an efficient citizen organization, elected officials represent not the voters but the professional political workers. The City Charter Committee has shown that the choice of the people is a higher type of elected official than is the choice of the machine and therefore if high-class officials are to be elected it is essential that an organization be perfected to permit the citizens to participate in political activities. The City Charter Committee has given to Cincinnati councilmen, mayors and city managers such as would have been thought to be impossible but five years ago. Although credit is due to these officials for the accomplishments of government, the selection and election of these officials has been due solely to the fact that in Cincinnati there has been developed a new type of citizen organization for political purposes.

CITY GOVERNMENT GROWS UP

(*Continued from page* 11)

League is still engaged in political reform but its members also study administration. The problems which confronted its founders continue to appear as topics on the League's programs. But the majority of (*Continued on page* 52)

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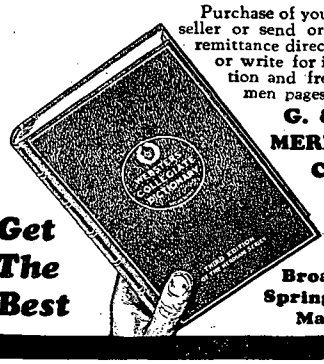

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(*Continued from page* 50) the delegates are now professionals—public officials, municipal researchers, college professors. Many of the speeches are highly technical and much of the program would be unintelligible to many of the old group. In other words municipal reform is becoming professionalized, a job for experts. Good citizens are coming to fulfill their civic obligations by contributing to a research bureau which makes investigations and drafts programs. Though regrettable, the change is probably inevitable as government becomes more complex and esoteric.

Indeed so widespread and lively has become the interest in administrative technique as to create a fear that essential political reforms may be slighted. There is grave danger that the importance of municipal statesmanship, without which administrative reforms will come to naught, will be overlooked. Experience has amply demonstrated that national political parties have failed to supply local leaders who are also local statesmen. Relief has been sought in the non-partisan ballot, intended to remove national parties from local elections and permit local issues to dominate. But as a rule, particularly in the larger cities, local civic organizations have not been able to enter in and occupy the field. Nature's abhorrence of a vacuum has therefore allowed the local machines of national parties to continue the indispensable function of nominating candidates and waging election battles. But their leadership has been most inadequate. Indeed they prefer to abstain from local issues and to concentrate on the spoils.

The mayor's office has been adorned with broad legal powers designed to make him automatically a leader of the people, but rarely does he rise to his opportunities. The standard city-manager charter endows no single individual with extraordinary authority in the political field. In theory the manager abstains from the joy of political warfare, although the absence of real leaders in the council may compel him to enter the public forum, usually to his eventual undoing. The manager's devotion to administration should leave the field clear for lay leaders of broad policy, but how can civic statesmen be found and elevated to political power?

THIS is the most serious question awaiting solution with respect to our municipal government of today. Strong municipal parties have been transitory; they lack the cohesive bonds which state and national parties possess. Yet it is true that the best municipal government is usually found where local citizens' associations are most active. Cincinnati frankly admits that it has the best city government in the United States. Weary of the so-called party responsibility of the Republican county machine, it turned to a non-partisan citizens' association for relief. Under able leadership this association secured the acceptance of a manager charter which it has since successfully defended against its enemies. How long the City Charter Commission can hold together is problematical but, while shrewdly aware of the influences which tend toward disintegration, its members realize its importance to good government.

The success of the Cincinnati citizens' group should encourage reformers elsewhere. True, such a municipal party labors under heavy handicaps not suffered by ordinary party organizations. The effort necessary to maintain it is great but the service to be rendered is tremendous. Today national and state politics draw off much of the cream of our political ability but as the caliber of city government improves the amount of high-grade talent available to it will increase. As the prestige of local government rises—and it is rising steadily and promises to continue to do so—natural leadership will assert itself.

It is clear that popular confidence in city government has begun to return. And with returning confidence, more and more duties are entrusted to the municipality. Although the present century has seen rapid strides in the socialization and humanization of city activities, the present burdens of local government are but an introduction to those which a developing Machine Age will entrust to its care.

It has been said that many business men do not desire efficient government because it encourages socialism. Whether or not this is a correct analysis of the business man's attitude, it is true that new taxes and new responsibilities are voted most freely when the people respect their municipal officials. Numerous examples could be cited. Conspicious are Dayton's history since 1914 and Cincinnati's since 1926. The voters of the latter city refused to approve new taxes or bond issues for a government they distrusted; under the new administration funds have always been forthcoming.

Since municipal government is so largely a housekeeping proposition, we may expect greater participation by organized women in city politics than in nation or state. Witness the local units of the League of Women Voters, which are attacking city affairs with a cooler eye and a more scientific attitude than most men's organizations. To the women must go much of the credit for numerous victories for reform. Their influence will be for municipal socialism, although they may not call their program by that name.

No field illustrates the increased demands upon our city governments and our greater confidence in their efficiency, than the current movement in city planning and zoning. An owner of real estate now holds his property subject to legal restrictions enforced by the (*Continued on page* 57)

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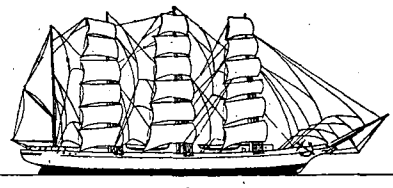

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Going Abroad

IT is rather rash of course to generalize on the strength (or weakness) of the handful of people one encounters; but really something should be done about these European travelers. For years they were satisfied to be lazy or athletic at mountain, camp, or seashore. Now they are fed up. They want a complete change; and so they go abroad. Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest and other much talked about cities have long been an ambition; and without further ado, they pack their excessive baggage, together with their mixed impressions and prejudices, and set sail. Then follows a quick succession of porters, hotels, meals, et al.—paying at every turn, for few of the comforts of home. The admonition of a young South African clergyman to one of his English brothers is fairly typical. "Sydney," he said, "either you do or you don't eat this German food, but stop complaining. Only of course it will be good to get back to jolly England, and I'll appreciate it more than ever." And then they crown this self-imposed punishment with the weariness that comes of walking through endless museums, palaces and castles.

Yet all the while, quite unnoticed, governments are spreading nets for posterity. That there hasn't been any love lost in Germany for the French is an old story. But the growing hatred is terrible to contemplate—and perhaps more terrible not to contemplate. In Bolzano and Cortina some of the inhabitants timidly tell that they were "born in Austria" but are now Italians. In Italy, young boys soon due to enter two years of compulsory military training say they try not to think of it or they "would go mad." In Budapest, a vehemently patriotic guide points out their war memorial: a flag which always flys at half mast on a very tall pole that tapers off into a hand, signifying that Hungary will yet find her place in the sun; and the pole is guarded by four gruesome statues commemorating the loss of territory to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Rumania.

But not all (!) travelers are socially or economically minded. Then why, one wonders, don't they hand themselves a vacation in God's own country—places along the Italian lakes like Stresa, where tropical trees and flowers like those in Bermuda mingle with the mountains; or in the Black Forest, the Austrian Tyrol, the Dolomites, Switzerland, and dozens of other places, instead of running in and out of museums which they seldom patronize at home).

Now the student groups are having all sorts of attention heaped on them. At tea with Mr. and Mrs. Oskar Bock, I learned of the fine work they are doing through the *Amt für Studentenwanderungen* (Döblergasse 2/26, Vienna VII). Theirs is a very "natural" way of bringing people of different countries, with a common interest, together through walking, climbing and canoeing trips in summer, and skiing in winter. The groups, guided by trained Austrian students or teachers, are small, and the cost nominal. What these contacts mean to body, mind, and spirit are intimately revealed in a reading of some of the diaries, to wit (regrettably, I came off with a winter one):

Tuesday, December 24th, started with a loud knock on the bedroom door by Herbert at 4.30 A. M., and ended with "lights out" at 11 P. M. It was a great day. It was not only our introduction to skiing, not only our introduction to the grand Austrian mountains, but our introduction to camp life with Austrian students.

Having spent the previous day in equipping ourselves in Salzburg, we were able to make an early start. Herbert is to be congratulated in making us all catch the train, in spite of our almost successful efforts to miss it. . . .

Replenished with coffee at Radstat, we packed our skis, ourselves and our rucksacks into a bus and drove through gorgeous scenery to Untertauern. From there we walked to our present abode. None died on the way. . . .

In the evening we met our Austrian friends around the Christmas tree; we greeted each other and wished each other *Frohe Weihnachten*. Our friends then gave us some musical items interspersed with—items by ourselves.

Thus ended the first perfect day.

JANET SABLOFF

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(*Continued from page* 52) municipality, restrictions which would have been almost unthinkable thirty years ago. The police power now directs how he must subdivide his land, what buildings he may put on it, their size and the use to which they can be put. The owner may even be compelled to hold part of his land out of use if the city feels that some day it will need it for public purposes. The fundamental principle is that land within a city must be developed in an orderly manner for the best use of the population as a whole.

The forces of municipal progress are cumulative. Broader powers of planning and regulation extending to other fields may be reasonably expected. There is more that our city governments must do—therefore we must make them capable of doing it. Our city governments are becoming more efficient—therefore we can trust them with more to do.

RURAL MUNICIPALITIES OF TOMORROW

(*Continued from page* 37)

in Wisconsin increased nearly 400 per cent and in New York about 900 per cent.

Increased cost of government was inevitable but it shot up out of all proportion. This does not mean that county officials themselves have been extravagant. It does not mean that these men are not, many of them, honest and trying to do justice to their jobs. It does mean that the patch-quilt form of governmental organization existing in our counties has simply not been up to the job of handling efficiently these traditional responsibilities. A wagon built to carry half a ton, will smash into splinters if two tons are piled upon it. Furthermore, we're in a motor age and wagons are out-of-date.

People are always making things more complicated than they really are. County government is a simple enough thing when we remember that it exists solely to perform certain services; that, in the last analysis, you and I created it because we thought it would be much simpler if certain jobs were performed for us by a common agency that could save us the trouble of doing them ourselves. There was the job of protecting our lives and property. There was the job of building new highways and bridges and keeping old ones in repair. There was the problem of what to do with a "bad man." There was the question of what happened to a man's property when he died. Then too, we couldn't see folks starve. So people who were too old or too weak to care for themselves had to be looked after by others. There was the job of educating children. And that of keeping the county clean. And preventing disease from spreading. So we soon had sheriffs and courts, and jails and schoolhouses, and poor farms and asylums of one kind or another.

All of which was well and good until citizens of a few counties woke up and realized that something was wrong. The work wasn't being done well and it cost too much in proportion to the service. Many guesses were made as to what was the matter—why weren't their county services performed more efficiently? There were battles to the trumpet blast of "Throw the rascals out," but soon more rascals were in. Or at least conditions were little better, because the fault did not lie primarily with men, but with the way in which men were organized.

FINALLY an important truth was discovered—that even good men couldn't operate effectively under the existing rules. And then attempts were made to change the rules, only to find out that nobody apparently wanted the rules changed—or, more accurately, that the political parties which had grown up and constituted themselves as job-getting agencies for a select group of officeholders, were perfectly satisfied to leave well enough alone. Improve the machinery and some men might find themselves without jobs!

There was nothing new or strange, of course, about this. The fact that the national political parties had their roots in the counties, however, meant that when anybody tried to improve county government, he was taking an axe and slashing at the source of life. And if little has been accomplished in county government, it is no wonder. Only the specter of bankruptcy could frighten most of (*Continued on page* 58)

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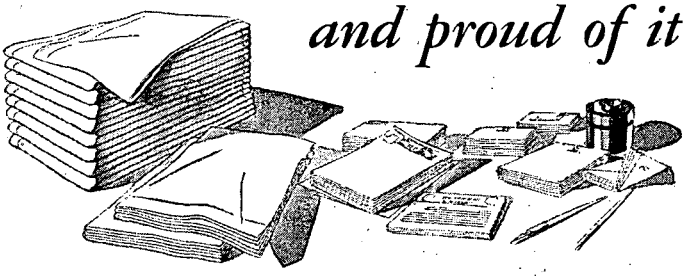

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ATLANTIC CITY

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(*Continued from page* 57) them into improving the system. This specter is at last on the scene. One southern county which has been in default in bond payments for several months, has pledged almost half of its total property assessment for bonded indebtedness! There are many others of the 3072 counties in the country in the same boat or on the dock waiting its arrival.

It is probable that more money is being spent by any one of a dozen county governments today than was spent by all the counties of the nation half a century ago. Accurate statistics are not available for recent years. In the decade from 1902 to 1913, however, county expenditures doubled from approximately one half a billion to nearly a billion dollars according to federal census figures. The largest increase in expenditures for any one purpose during that period was for roads and bridges—yet in 1913 we had not reached the great era of highway development. Wayne County, Mich., in 1913 was still wondering what life was all about—the Detroit region had not glimpsed its future as the motor center of the world and the inhabitants of the county which was soon to have more miles of paved highway than any area of similar size on this planet, were still bumping over dirt and gravel roads.

AS the demand developed for counties to take on more and more functions, legislatures simply passed more and more laws. The result is that long, detailed lists of duties have been chalked down for each county office, to such an extent that it is practically impossible for the man who votes at the polls to know whether the public official has been filling his office satisfactorily. Indeed, many county officials at the end of their first terms do not know what all their duties are. Thanks to intelligent and conscientious clerks, stenographers and bookkeepers, plus the fact that nobody else knows either, they "get by."

This state of affairs is further complicated by the fact that there is no one official or board whom the voter can hold responsible for the administration. The people in most counties choose a board of supervisors or a board of county commissioners who have control over the public pocketbook. Unfortunately, the officers for whose work the board votes funds are not appointed by the board but take their authority direct from the people. A clash inevitably results. The public official is responsible for the administration of his office; the board of supervisors is in no position to know whether he is spending too much money or whether the requirements of his office are such that he needs twice the amount he is getting.

Take the sheriff—a typical county official. Pass up those cases in which sheriffs multiply their salaries tenfold through protection to illegal enterprises—forget, in brief, the graft. The board has no way of checking up on this; indeed, it has no check on the ordinary routine of the sheriff's office, and no way of finding out how much money is required for the adequate police protection of the county. The sheriff may ask for an appropriation for one deputy or a dozen, and the only possible gauge the board has for its action is the momentary state of public opinion on the subject of law enforcement. No intelligent decision on the basis of whether the sheriff has been operating his department effectively can be attempted. In truth, the board has no jurisdiction over him except in the sense of allowing the appropriation for the conduct of his office. While, in the hands of a strong board, this may become a powerful weapon, it amounts to naught if the board is weak and the sheriff a vigorous personality. Ultimately, the appropriation decision usually rests upon a series of political maneuvers on a basis of "you tag me and I'll tag you."

County taxpayers obviously are not getting their money's worth. Millions of dollars are wasted. There are too many holes in the county sock. A few of the conspicuous forms of waste which are manifested in almost any rural county have been classified by Dr. Paul W. Wager of the University of North Carolina as follows: Too many officials and deputies for the amount of work to be done; the employment of officials who are unqualified for their work; the constant "breaking in" of novices both as chiefs and clerks; losses in purchasing supplies because of the lack of centralized systematic buying; interest paid on temporary loans and loss of interest on temporary balances; costly and dilatory methods of collecting

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taxes; abuse and neglect of public property; lack of any systematic accounting in some instances and duplication of accounts in other instances; idleness or lost motion on the part of public employes because of poor planning and poor management; losses resulting from delinquency or insolvency on the part of officials and taxpayers; laxity and inequality in assessing and listing property; unnecessary overhead because of a duplication of county institutions.

GRANTED the inefficiency, what can be done about it? First, cut the cord that binds politics and administration! There is no Republican way of building a bridge and no Democratic way of running a county hospital. Politics in the broad sense is essential, but it should be limited to decision as to what ought to be done. Once the board of Oskaloosa County has decided to construct a new highway, politics should end. The job of designing, grading and paving should be left to an engineer who is an expert, and he should be appointed because of his qualifications for the job, not because he has voted the Republican ticket at least once every election.

Second, centralize authority so we can place praise or censure in the right place. Try to find out in your county—wherever it may be—who is responsible for something gone wrong. Nobody blundered. It is remarkable how much can go on that should not go on and yet nobody has had anything to do with it!

Third, take an eraser and rub out some of the boundaries. Perhaps we needed more than three thousand counties when we were in a stagecoach era and it could not be more than a day's journey from the boundaries to the county seat. That's past. Certainly there is no need for them now, and startling sums can be saved by consolidation. These things will help. Others might be suggested.

In the state of Virginia alone, the New York Bureau of Municipal Research estimated that a possible annual savings in the operating cost of the county government of at least $1,500,000 could be made. Its recommendations for change included reorganization of the structure of county government, and improvement in administrative practices.

A number of counties have been making experiments which are of interest in this connection. These counties have given up the job of attempting to run the public business on the hydra-headed plan and have hired a manager. In so doing they have taken a leaf from the book of city experience. For more than four hundred American cities are finding good government under the city manager plan. These counties are: Alamance County, N. C.; Cleveland County, N. C.; Davidson County, N. C.; Guilford County, N. C.; Robeson County, N. C.; Albemarle County, Va.; Arlington County, Va.; Augusta County, Va.; Fairfax County, Va.; Pittsylvania County, Va.

These ten counties have executives who may be considered to have attained the status of managers. None has as much authority as he might have—the moss-covered tradition that important county officers should be elected rather than appointed is not lightly cast aside.

There has been talk for years about a manager plan for counties. This handful of North Carolina and Virginia counties, however, were the first to break away from false gods and to make a start toward a solution of the county problem. One of the most potent obstacles in the way of an improvement in county government in most states, it should be said, is the state constitution itself. When county officers are specifically provided for in the constitution of a state, an amendment to that constitution is necessary to change the county government structure. Nebraska is the only state which has no constitutional provision concerning county government. In six other states—California, Louisiana, Maryland, Montana, North Carolina and Virginia—the constitution gives the legislature power to alter the form of county government or to provide for optional forms. Only in North Carolina and Virginia, however, have the legislatures used this power.

Agitation for improvement in county government is becoming more and more widespread. Proposed county home-rule amendments to the constitutions of Ohio and Texas are pending and citizen movements looking toward better county government are under way in a dozen other states.

Davison County, N. C., the (*Continued on page* 61)

and neither would you if you had ten children

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(*Continued from page* 59) first county to hire a manager, furnishes most interesting glimpses of the possibilities that lie in this direction. In one year, under the manager plan, Davidson County established centralized purchasing, installed a budget system, reduced the outstanding indebtedness and cut down the tax-rate. Striking savings were effected on various items. For instance, in 1926 the tax scrolls cost $181; in 1927, $30. In 1926 the tax abstracts cost $8.50 per thousand, in 1927, $4.24. The accomplishments of the first year under this type of government speak for themselves.

Take Augusta County, Va., which has been operating under the manager plan since April 1927, when Fred T. Prufer, long clerk of the board of supervisors, was given new powers and became virtually a manager. While Mr. Prufer's powers do not reach to authority over elective officials, he is in a position to correlate their work. Through a complete financial statement submitted monthly to the board, active administration of debts and a thoroughgoing budget, he is able to provide a centralized financial control never before realized.

But results rather than methods are what count. The county has regularly borrowed money at 4¾ per cent while its sinking funds are earning 6 per cent. At the end of the second year of manager-clerk regime, all debt had been wiped out except long-term bonds for the repayment of which provision was definite. During his first fiscal year, 1927-8, the debt was reduced $57,665, in addition to the increase of the sinking fund. During the next year, a county debt of $18,600 was absorbed, $20,000 road notes paid off, and three minor obligations redeemed. This was done, it is significant to note, in the year following a decrease in the county and road tax-rates that lowered taxes in all the seven districts of the county.

From 1923-4 to 1926-7, Augusta County's expenditures jumped from $550,570 to $737,916. From this point they dropped gradually to $612,482 in 1929-30. Thus good management actually saved the county $125,334 in a three-year period when local government costs generally throughout the country were increasing. So satisfactory has been the experience, and so general has become the interest in this subject, that the National Municipal League has published a Model County Manager Law.

There is some chance, then, of developing an efficient county organization to do the work that needs to be done. And the need is there. It's all a very human thing, after all.

TAKE Oscar Schultz. A worker in a Detroit automobile factory, he was respectable, hard-working, a skilled mechanic. He had some savings in the bank. There was a mortgage on the little house he had bought a few miles outside of Detroit near Gratiot Avenue, a paved super-highway on which he could drive to work in three-quarters of an hour.

Oscar lost his job. It was no fault of his, just the depression. His savings soon vanished. Now he can't meet the payments on the house, he can't buy gasoline for his car, he can't buy food for his children, he can't pay his taxes. He has gone from comparative prosperity to complete dependence upon society in a few months. It might happen to anyone.

Somebody has to do something about Oscar. Otherwise, he and his family will starve. It is the county's job. No private agency can or should be called upon to cope with it. No other governmental unit is involved, since the Schultz home is miles outside the limits of Detroit. Yet the county in which Oscar lives has no adequate organization with which to cope with such a problem. There is a poor fund, to be sure, administered loosely by an elected superintendent working with the township supervisors. It would be all right if there were only a few Oscars, but when there are thousands, the job of doing something about them becomes serious.

Now Ben Williams, supervisor of Oscar's township, is, to quote Oscar directly, one "tam fine man." He is doing the best he can in the emergency. He is spending more time on the job than he should. He is fighting hard for appropriations to keep people from starving to death. He is working nights getting food, clothing and fuel to folks. The cost of caring for the poor has multiplied ten times in a year. Williams is not at fault. He's doing everything humanly possible. I know him well. I have known many like him. And his eyes have dark circles under them from work and worry over a situation not of his own creation, with which he is not capable of coping satisfactorily. Yet he feels responsible.

He is not responsible, at least he shouldn't be. If the county were in truth a rural municipality, organized effectively along logical lines, such situations could be met. The manager plan, which has turned graft-ridden cities into efficient businesses, should be equally effective in counties. At present politics, in a narrow sense, prevents. Do you suppose, for instance, that Williams, supervisor of a fairly well populated township, could get Murphy, supervisor of a completely rural township in the north of the county, to give a job on the roads in his section to Oscar Schultz? Not on your life. Politics isn't played that way—Murphy gives any jobs he has to men who will vote for him at the next election. You and I would do the same—given the same conditions.

Change the set-up. Make the area big enough so it can be run efficiently. Abolish the township without a qualm. Look critically at the county. Take a section in which there are ten small counties. This means ten courthouses, ten jails, ten poorhouses, ten health officers, ten county treasurers, everything that one county has multiplied by ten. Crazy decentralization.

Perhaps the counties cannot be consolidated. Local sentiment may be too strong. Citizens may be willing to pay through the nose to preserve county lines. They will favor a theoretical merger, but will fight to retain the identity furnished by their own county name. "If you want what sentiment is in the name of a general or something, pay for it and quit growling about taxes," (*Continued on page* 63)

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Advertise Your Wants in The Survey

(*Continued from page* 61) challenged Governor Al Smith a few years ago. It is not human nature to do so.

But at least officers of these counties might get together around a table and figure out what services could be carried on best cooperatively. They won't, of course, not while the county is the particular bailiwick of a particular political boss. But if people understand what they are paying for and why, even a political boss may be toppled from his throne.

The county as it exists today is not an effective agency of the state for social service. It is far more an instrument of the political party for its own selfish purposes. But as Richard S. Childs has pointed out, "If county governments once became trustworthy and capable of taking on large tasks, they would speedily become great rural municipalities, solving many of the social problems of county life and bringing to rural dwellers many of the benefits of modern science which cities give to their people."

As for the ultimate solution, what we have been discussing are but gropings toward it. They have an immediate practical benefit in saving money for taxpayers. Yet they may have a deeper significance. If county government is put on a business basis, the political party feed-trough is removed. Such an event, if and when it takes place, conceivably might result in a complete reshaping of our national political psychology. Counties as they now exist may disappear or become mere administrative arms of the states. On the other hand, accorded a greater degree of self-government they may develop as real rural municipalities. What we are immediately interested in, however, is the lowering of tax bills and the improvement of service. Better and cheaper government, at least, is in sight.

FROM HISTORY'S RAG-BAG

(*Continued from page* 41)

crescent—this coast was one of the high-water-marks of the Moslem invasion. I should like to go through that and other collections again, now that I have seen the Minoan decorations, because I certainly remember seeing those groups of seven discs, each of concentric circles, such as distinguish some of the golden Mycenean ornaments, a design that came from Crete.

In Pola, Zara, and other places that were so little a while ago Austrian and spoke German but now are Italian, you can see the efforts to appear Italian. Further down, where the rule is now that of Jugoslavia, you find German and Italian wrenched into Slavic terminology. In Montenegro, unwillingly, the old culture is encrusted with the Jugoslav dominion. But in all these places, let the new rulers enforce as best they may a superficial conformity . . . underneath and easily discernible if you take the trouble to search for and inspect the inadvertent, neglected scraps in history's rag-bag, you will find the marks of a continuous life. I quote again from Dr. Chubb:

That aspect of historical research known as archaeology may be said to begin when man ceases to speak for himself and must be spoken for. In the actual garnering of materials for the history of peoples, archaeology comprises the acquisition of data not contained in libraries or governmental archives.

It is mostly in the rag-bag and the scrap-heap that mankind leaves his unconscious and most revealing records. It is great fun to delve among them.

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STRONG MAYOR vs. CITY MANAGER

(*Continued from page 27*)

Illinois Legislature bills have been introduced authorizing cities to adopt a manager-council plan of government, but they have not excited any great enthusiasm in Chicago. There it is felt that much greater independence must be won from the state legislators for the metropolitan district; that this would be of much greater importance than a mere permission to adopt a restricted manager system. It must be complete home rule without domination of any kind from Sprinfield. Chicago then can think about the sort of city governing charter it wants. Home rule is going to be a powerful issue in Cook County in the 1932 campaign for election of a governor and members of the two legislative houses but it is doubtful if any relief can be secured by Chicago before the 1933-34 legislative session —if even then, unless a constitutional convention meanwhile can accomplish it. Illinois governors and the state legislature have long been unsympathetic toward Chicago.

Cermak is a politican of the old school and for thirty years has been closely identified with the Chicago Democratic Party. He is every bit as much a politician as William Hale Thompson, perhaps more of an organization man than Thompson, yet so far in his four-year administration begun in April, Cermak has indicated a definite desire for municipal governmental reform.

It will be intensely interesting to watch Chicago for the next four years because if Cermak's plans do not work out a real citizens' movement for radical reform is morally certain to develop—if it does not come about before his present term is finished.

Likewise Chicago is going to continue keeping an eye on Cincinnati and other cities where the new plans are working more or less successfully. The idea of hiring a capable man to run a city government at a decent salary just as private corporations hire capable men at far better salaries to administer much smaller turnovers than big cities have annually, is undoubtedly capturing the imagination of some of the public. It is slow work, but it is getting along nevertheless. The most powerful argument the manager-council propagandists have, next to the one they have overlooked—the political set up necessary as a foundation before anything worth while can be accomplished—is that very dollar-mark argument. If Cincinnati, one-sixth the size of Chicago, can pay its city manager $25,000 a year and consider the investment a very good one, while Chicago pays its chief executive $18,000 a year and not be convinced that it is getting its money's worth, the manager idea, or at least a part of it, is so much seed falling on fertile ground.

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